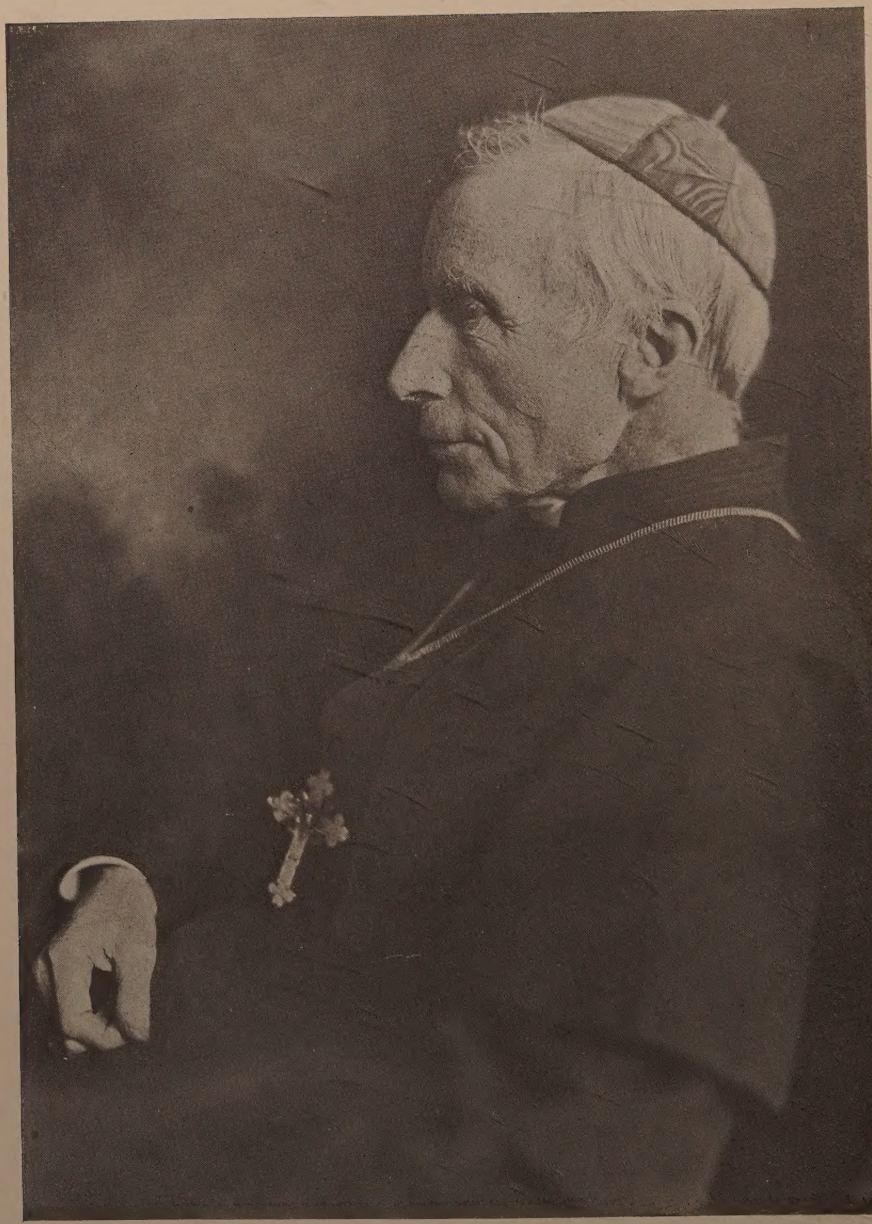
JAMES GIBBONS

LIFE OF CARDINAL GIBBONS



CARDINAL GIBBONS AT THE AGE OF 83 YEARS

LIFE OF
CARDINAL GIBBONS

ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE

BY

ALLEN SINCLAIR WILL

M.A., LITT.D., LL.D.

Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's. MATTHEW xxii, 21.

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TO

THE INSPIRER OF MY LABORS
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

PREFACE

Cardinal Gibbons, in an address at the elevation of Archbishop Farley to the Cardinalate, said: "It is not the Cardinal that ennobles the man; it is the man that ennobles the Cardinal." This was a true reflection of the spirit in which he exhibited his own life to others. It is thus, then, that I must attempt to depict his life in order to be faithful to the task. A personality such as his was bound to take a range as wide as humanity itself.

This was the spirit of Cardinal Gibbons when he authorized me to write his biography in 1909. He was then seventy-five years old. In the conversation on that occasion, he related the story of the artist who was commissioned to paint a portrait of Cromwell and who displayed the finished picture without the warts which disfigured the countenance of the Lord Protector. The Cardinal repeated to me the admonition of Cromwell to the artist: "Paint me as I am, warts and all"; and added with emphasis: "That is what I wish you to do for me."

He never altered that injunction. I was amazed at times, in the course of my long association with him, that he did not do so, but I must record his attitude as it was.

At the interview with him just cited, he consented to devote a part of each day when necessary, except Saturdays and Sundays (subsequently, Saturdays were also included), to telling me his own story of his life from

his earliest recollections onward. During the next five years I was very actively engaged in obtaining material by means of these never-to-be-forgotten conversations, and in supplementing it by the collection of other pertinent data from every source that I could reach. The Cardinal gave me the private journal which he had kept since 1868, the existence of which, he told me, was then unknown to anyone else; and I had full access to the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, containing the official records of his administration, and many of his letters.

After five years I had completed the work of assembling the greatest mass of the material which had accumulated up to that time. He survived six years longer, and I continued my work to the end.

In 1911, at the time of his golden jubilee as priest and his silver jubilee as Cardinal, he gave me permission to publish a volume of four hundred pages containing such biographical material as it was proper to present then. This was the only biography of him which appeared in his lifetime. From the beginning I had collected the material with the plan of telling the story fully when it was complete, and I have now done so, the earlier work being discarded except for a comparatively few passages, and a new, greatly enlarged, and final one, written.

Conscious of my own limitations in many respects, I have recognized no limitation in my effort to represent the Cardinal and his career faithfully and fully.

ALLEN SINCLAIR WILL

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LIFE OF CARDINAL GIBBONS

LIFE OF CARDINAL GIBBONS

CHAPTER I

EARLIEST YEARS

By a rare fortuity, the birthplace of James Gibbons was within the parish of the Cathedral in which he towered for more than a third of a century as a great captain of the Christian faith. His early memories were linked closely with the tall Ionic columns of that building, set on a bold hill in downtown Baltimore, and with the singularly sweet tones of its bells, which flooded the neighborhood daily with the harmony of their summons to worship. He passed its portals first when he was carried there to be baptized.

A scant nine hundred yards of sloping streets separated the Cathedral from the dwelling on the west side of Gay Street, a short distance north of Fayette Street, where he was born July 23, 1834. His parents, Thomas and Bridget Gibbons, had then lately come from Ireland, borne on the tide of pre-famine emigration. They were of small-farmer stock and there is abundant evidence that they were intelligent, industrious and thrifty.

Their family life appears to have been exemplary. They had remained staunch Catholics in their youth despite repressive laws against which the voice of Daniel O'Connell was then ringing in protest.

Thomas Gibbons was born in 1800, and grew up near Westport, County Mayo, on the western coast of Ireland, almost under the shadow of Croagh Patrick, the mystic peak in whose purple solitudes Ireland's patron saint, according to revered tradition, meditated. There he married Bridget Walsh, three years younger than himself, the daughter of James Walsh, a neighboring farmer of scholarly tastes. The husband's life was marked by a protracted struggle against ill-health, and he died at forty-seven years of age. The wife was strong, energetic, dauntless of spirit, and survived to the age of eighty-three. Her courage and force of character were blended with piety in a combination of traits which were reflected in her gifted son.

When the young couple resolved to leave Ireland, they intended to plant a new home in Canada. Embarking in a sailing ship, they arrived at their destination after a voyage of many weeks. The northern climate was too severe for them, and after a brief stay in Canada they resumed their wanderings, settling in Baltimore a few years before the future Cardinal's birth.

Thomas Gibbons possessed considerable aptitude for business. He obtained a position as clerk—a term of variable meaning in those days—with Howell & Sons, a firm which conducted a lucrative importing business on Gay Street, a short distance from the house in which he took up his residence. For years he was entrusted with

the responsibility of caring for the money brought by some of the smart clipper ships which raced up the Patapsco River with the trade of half the world, and of delivering to the captains the amounts needed when they sailed on new quests for riches. It was his custom not to transfer to them the funds for the outward voyage until they had passed beyond call of the signals on land, and then, having concluded his task of fidelity with the final signing of the papers, he would row back to port. So scrupulously exact was he in these transactions that there is a tradition that the phrase, "as honest as Gibbons" was used as a standard of probity in the shipping district of Baltimore.

The city was then beginning to burst from its narrow beginnings in a surge of maritime development and trade adventure. Its daring seamen, like their brethren in New England, were spreading their sails in every ocean, while the commercial fleets of Europe were almost decimated by losses in war. Grave merchants in sober dress, their throats wrapped in stiff black stocks, sat in counting rooms fronting on irregular lines of streets and trafficked ambitiously with Europe, South America and the Indies.[1] Privateer ships which not many years before had ravaged commerce in hundreds of forays, still manned in part by seamen who had shown that they could wield a cutlass as well as trim a sail, crowded the wharves in pursuit of peaceful commerce. Eager purchasers clamored for the cargoes of the clippers arriving at Baltimore, and piled barter upon barter as some of the great fortunes of America began to rise. In this fast widening

[1] Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 407.

whirlpool of trade Thomas Gibbons found a congenial field, whose opportunities for promotion encouraged him.

The house in which the future Cardinal was born was fated, like himself, for length of years. It was not new when his parents moved into it. Through the vicissitudes of lower Gay Street, a part of Baltimore swept at intervals by torrents from near-by Jones Falls and racked by successive tremors of municipal reconstruction, it stood without material change until 1892, when the city effaced a group of buildings, of which it was one, in order to obtain space for a plaza for parades and outdoor meetings.

Buoyant from youth to age with zest for the simple and wholesome things of life, he cherished memories of his first home with vivid freshness. He spoke of it tenderly in later years, recalling a flood of recollections from a period which is lost to most persons in the blurred impressions of infancy. When his mind was crowded with the absorbing tasks that his career in the Church brought to him, his footsteps often lingered at its site in the course of long rambles about the city with which he invigorated himself for large undertakings.

Almost in his last moments, when his powers rose in a final rally, his thoughts swept backward as he spoke to a companion of the beloved dwelling. No detail faded from his treasured picture of the simple architecture of its two stories, its rooms with high ceilings that once seemed a world to him, the tall bedstead in which he slept, the thin chimneys through which poured the smoke from the cheerful fireplaces around which the family

gathered in winter, and the high-pitched, sharply sloping roof.

Six children were born to Thomas and Bridget Gibbons, the first three being daughters and the last three sons. James was the eldest son. He was baptized in the Baltimore Cathedral by the Rev. Dr. Charles I. White, for whom in mature years he cherished a warm affection. An entry in his private journal for April 4, 1878, when he had sat for six months in the Archbishop's chair, reads:

"This morning the Rev. Dr. C. I. White, pastor of St. Matthew's Church, Washington, was buried in Mt. Olivet Cemetery, having died on the 1st. About twenty-five of the clergy of the diocese were present at the obsequies in St. Matthew's Church, which was filled to repletion, many distinguished Protestants and some of the foreign ministers being present. I preached on the occasion. It was this venerable priest that baptized me."

The life of James Gibbons, marked as the greatest influence which has developed in America toward checking the dark forces of intolerance concerning religion, began in an historic background befitting that task. The city of his birth bore the name of the Catholic barons who had set up amid the wild forests of the western world a commonwealth in which for the first time liberty of conscience went hand in hand with liberty in civil affairs. Under Cecilius Calvert, second of the Lords Baltimore, to whom the planting of the colony of Maryland was committed by his dying father, Catholic, Church of England adherent, Puritan, Presbyterian and Jew shared equally in the benevolent protection of its

laws.[2] When the shadow of approaching Cromwellian domination darkened the outlook, the colonial Assembly sought to preserve what it was possible to save out of the threatened wreck of the system by ordaining the Toleration Act of 1649, which safeguarded every Christian in the province from being in "anyways troubled, molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion or in the free exercise thereof."

This proved to be the offspring of a vain hope, for one Protestant group after another wrested control of the province from the benignant Calverts of that early generation, replacing the Toleration Act with arbitrary statutes which disfranchised Catholics and condemned them to double taxation.[3] Their equality of right was not restored until the American Revolution, but the wide meaning of their daring experiment in the genesis of the United States is hallowed to this day in the commonwealth which they founded.

Half a century before Gibbons was born, the vision of religious liberty which the Calverts cherished had been incorporated into fundamental law by the fathers of the Federal constitution. The harsh voice of intolerance was further subdued when John Carroll, the first American Archbishop, far-sighted and patriotic, a Washington in the robes of a cleric, organized the Catholic Church in thorough harmony with the new republic's distinctive political institutions.

In the atmosphere of freedom, American Catholics

[2] Russell, *Maryland, the Land of Sanctuary*, p. 32. Browne, *Maryland, the History of a Palatinate*, p. 79.

[3] *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. VI, p. 419. Bacon, *Laws of Maryland, Act of 1756.*

multiplied. Their number in Maryland was estimated in the year of Gibbons' birth at 75,000 out of a population of 500,000, a greater proportion than in any other State of the Union.[4] They were for the most part a strong group sprung from the pioneers who had helped to plant the Cross in the wilderness at St. Mary's, when the first Mass was celebrated in any English colony on the continent, and from the early successors of those pioneers. In Baltimore the honored names of some of these families have been associated with everything that is best in the progress of the city since it was founded on a tidewater marsh owned by one of the Carrolls.

Although the life of Gibbons stretched well into the twentieth century, the twilight of the eighteenth still seemed to linger in the times in which he was born. He was a link between two of the most interesting periods in modern history. When he was eighty-three years old he wrote:

"It must be very difficult for the present generation to reconstruct for themselves the world into which I was born; things are so completely changed. The Napoleonic wars were still a living memory. Many people who were by no means old when I was a boy had seen General Washington; and when I was ten years old, men who were as old then as I am now were fourteen years of age at the time of the Declaration of Independence. Slavery was still in existence in the Southern states and was to remain in existence until I was a grown man and a priest. Machinery was just coming into use, but nobody dreamed of the extent to which it would be employed

[4] Letter of Archbishop Eccleston to the Congregation of the Propaganda, quoted by Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. 3, p. 447.

later on. Electricity in all of its uses was almost undreamed of. Men knew from the experiments of Benjamin Franklin that it might possibly be used, but the telegraph, telephone and electric light were still to come. Railroads were a new invention.

"The Catholic Church, both in England and in this country, was a small and very depressed body. I was eleven years old when Newman became a Catholic. Those two great movements which were to spread Catholicism so marvelously throughout the English-speaking world—I mean the exodus of the Irish people after the famine, and the entrance of a large body of Anglicans into the Catholic Church—were still to come. In short, one may say that when I was a young man we were still living on the legacy of the eighteenth century." [5]

Before the Gibbons home streamed a tide of picturesque life—fashionable idlers who maintained many of the traditions of the English aristocracy; folk of many sorts coming in from the northeastern outskirts of the city to the maze of rope and mast that covered the inner harbor; coaches of the rich, with liveried servants on the boxes, and white-arched Conestoga wagons rumbling in from Pennsylvania with the crops of rich counties to barter for the city's wares. Uptown, in the parade of late Georgian fashion which passed on bright afternoons, one might observe here and there the sons and daughters of rich Santo Domingan planters, driven not long before in a terrified swarm by the revolution of L'Ouverture to find in Baltimore the homes of exiles. Merchants from half a dozen States drank the old wines of the Fountain

[5] "My Memories," Cardinal Gibbons in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1917.

Inn or Barnum's, crowding to the gay and busy city to buy their supplies a year ahead.

The name of Johns Hopkins was on the sign of a wholesale grocery store on Lombard Street, near Light Street.[6] A few hundred yards distant, on what was then called German Street, was the dry goods establishment of George Peabody.[7] Around the corner, on Charles Street, was the modest office of Enoch Pratt, iron merchant. Chief Justice Taney's handsome residence was on Lexington Street, the second house from St. Paul Street. In the courts of law, brilliant speeches flowed from the lips of William Pinkney, Luther Martin, William Wirt and Reverdy Johnson. Edgar Allan Poe, recently dismissed from West Point, was walking the streets, half submerged in a grand despair, seeking employment as a writer or teacher. At the Adelphi Theater, Junius Brutus Booth, then at the apex of his great gifts, was playing nightly Two years before, a tottering old man had been an object of respectful interest as he used to enter his residence at the corner of Front and Lombard Streets after attending Mass. He was Charles Carroll, and the hand that turned the heavy brass door knob had signed the immortal Declaration.

Thomas Gibbons became a citizen of the United States, turning with relief from the political turmoil of Ireland to the institutions of the country in which he had found a new home. Those were the days of the two presidential terms of Andrew Jackson. When Jackson, near the close of his second term, visited Baltimore, there was

[6] Mr. Henry C. Wagner, antiquarian, of Baltimore, was the authority for the facts regarding old buildings as given here.

[7] German Street is now called Redwood Street.

in the multitude that greeted him one who was destined to be the friend, confidant and counselor of many presidents—perhaps of more than any other American yet born. He was James Gibbons, then about three years old, held high in the arms of his mother to see the famous man.

The lad's memory had already awakened to such an extent that this incident found firm lodgment in it, and remained there through the long years that unfolded before him. When past the age of eighty he wrote thus to the author of a book embracing the recollections of the handful of survivors who had beheld "Old Hickory" in the flesh:

"I was always interested in Andrew Jackson for personal reasons. When I was an infant in the year 1837, General Jackson received an ovation in Baltimore. The procession escorting him through the city happened to pass our residence and my mother held me up in her arms to contemplate the hero of New Orleans, the President of the United States." [8]

Soon after this, the health of the elder Gibbons failed and his physician advised him to take a long sea voyage. His affairs had prospered fairly well in America before the prospect of invalidism cast a dark veil over his future. The family formed the hope that in Ireland, the home of his youth, he might regain strength, and at length the decision was reached to reestablish the household there. The little group embarked on the return voyage in 1837, and founded a new home at Ballinrobe, near Westport.

[8] Letter of Cardinal Gibbons to S. G. Heiskell, of Knoxville, Tennessee.

Thomas Gibbons bought land in the vicinity of Ballinrobe and settled down again to the life of a farmer, upon which he had once turned his back for the allurements of America. That village thus became the second boyhood home of the future Cardinal—a quaint and placid place with groups of thatched cottages fronting on its shaded streets. It nestles in a region of rolling fields of Ireland's own green and charming lakes and mountains, secluded from the beaten paths of travel.

The municipal evolution which in time erased from the street vista of Baltimore every vestige of Cardinal Gibbons' birthplace proceeded from a state of restlessness to which Ballinrobe was an utter stranger, and the dwelling occupied by the Gibbons family during its stay in that village continued to be well preserved throughout his life. Its substantial three stories stood upon a hilly street. For years at a later period it was occupied by a boyhood friend of the Cardinal, whose recollections of their association seemed as fresh as the verdure of the neighboring meadows.

At the age of seven years, James was led as a shrinking lad to begin his studies in a private classical school conducted in a building which faced the market square of Ballinrobe. It was a crudely constructed house, with an earthen floor, and the pupils were grouped in none too comfortable seats placed along the walls. The school was taught by a Mr. Jennings and afterward by John J. Rooney, types of the thorough Irish pedagogues of those days, to whom the easy steps of modern elementary education would have been anathema.

Young Gibbons soon mastered the rudiments and at a

comparatively early age began the study of the classics and mathematics. By the laborious methods then considered indispensable in disciplining the mind, he unraveled in turn the polished sentences of Virgil, Ovid, Cicero and Livy, and grappled with Xenophon and Homer. His grandfather on his mother's side, after whom he had been named, helped by teaching him with affectionate patience the principles of mathematics, and thus accelerated his progress.

The unfoldment of the lad's mental traits soon brought to the surface qualities that were to be of the greatest use to him. When he was scarcely beyond the age of ten years, the eagerness of his intellect and his power of intense application became so marked as to attract attention, but his modesty tended to conceal the full proportions of his gifts. None of his schoolboy associates who recorded in later life their views of him as a comrade recalled a trace of the impatient zeal to surpass others which so many bright youths are wont to display.

There were fifty boys in the school and not a few of them rose to some distinction. One of them, Thomas Tighe, became a member of Parliament and held other important offices. His two brothers, Robert and James Tighe, adopted the career of officers in the British Army, as did another schoolmate of Gibbons, afterward General Sillery. The future Bishop MacCormack, of Galway, was also a pupil at Ballinrobe, and the ties of friendship which he then formed with Gibbons remained strong after both of them had been elevated to episcopal rank.

Thomas Tighe lived to a ripe old age. He recalled

James as "a most gentle, amiable boy, very studious and clever, and a great favorite." [9]

So rapidly did James advance in his classes and such was the esteem in which he was held that he was sometimes called upon to take charge of the school when the master was absent, owing to sickness. More than any other studies, the English classics fascinated him. His favorites were Addison, Goldsmith, Johnson and Moore, and to his pronounced fondness for the study of such models as these was due, in large measure, that limpid flow of expression which became a characteristic of his literary style in later years. His memory was little short of marvelous, exciting the comment of his teachers and companions. He could quote offhand long passages from poems that he had read.

Among those strenuous Irish lads, bubbling with vitality, sports were rough when the stern discipline of long school hours was lifted. They wrestled and boxed, ran and jumped, played cricket, football, handball and prisoner's base, which later developed into the American game of baseball. Young Gibbons, while not so sturdy of frame as some of his companions, loved the rigor of their contests as much as any. Although his health was not the strongest, his ardent love of outdoor life was developing a physical power which in future years enabled him to sustain the greatest fatigues of mind and body. In his favorite sport of football, his exploits produced a lasting impression upon his comrades; and a mark carried on one of his fingers through life was left by an injury which he received in a game of cricket.

[9] Extract from a letter written by Thomas Tighe, May 27, 1909.

James was confirmed by Archbishop McHale at such an early age that he had been rejected on account of his youth when he sought the privilege in company with other children; but, mingling in the stream of the favored ones, he received the rite, notwithstanding this obstacle, and was praised for his persistence. The deep piety of his mother exerted a marked influence upon him in the impressionable period of his early life. It was due largely to her influence that he became an altar boy in the Ballinrobe church.

Catholics in Ireland were then beginning to worship freely after years of vassalage, the long struggle of O'Connell having been at length successful in breaking some of their bonds. So rigid had been the ban on the priesthood that Archbishop McHale, who was consecrated in 1825, was the first Irish prelate in several centuries who had been able to receive all of his ecclesiastical education in his native land.

The Gibbons family might have remained in Ireland and the Cardinal's lot might not have been cast in his native country had not the death of his father in 1847, when the lad was thirteen years old, changed the whole outlook. Thomas Gibbons' brave struggle against ill health came to an end ten years after his return to Ireland, and he was buried in a rural cemetery several miles from Ballinrobe in the direction of the village of Partry. When the eldest son of the family had entered the priesthood, he cared tenderly for the grave and caused to be erected around it an ornamental fence bearing a tablet setting forth that it was provided by him as a memorial to his father. Yew trees were planted at the

corners of the lot, and within the screen of foliage was erected a simple stone which told of the simple life that it commemorated.

The energetic mother, upon whom the trials of widowhood thus fell with exceptional force, possessed resourcefulness equal to the emergency. The promise of America had never faded from her mind. She had seen or heard of boys born to poverty there who had risen to affluence and fame with a rapidity unknown in the old world. The head of the nation during the period of her stay in Baltimore had battled as a young man with privation in the backwoods of Tennessee. She could not know that a President-to-be, at that same time a rail-splitter among rude companions in Illinois, would some day be hailed as one of the world's greatest men; but the idea of the opportunity of America which Lincoln afterward came to embody in the eyes of men and women everywhere was vividly before her. The family had given up its early hopes in order that the life of the husband and father might be prolonged in the congenial climate of Ireland, and now those hopes were born anew. If the children remained in Ballinrobe, the mother felt that their scope in life would be limited in a time of economic distress and political disorder.

Five years elapsed, in the course of which the return to America was often discussed in the family circle. Gathered round a turf fire in the evening, the thoughts of the mother and children turned to the scenes which they had left behind. The mind of James was ever eager as to history, and the land of his birth possessed a fascination for him. He read and listened to tales of the

American Revolution, of the War of 1812, and of the birth of the "Star-Spangled Banner" as the spirited guns of Fort McHenry had repelled the attacks of a powerful fleet near his first home.

While the family was in Ireland a new affliction befell it in the death of Catherine, the favorite sister of James, when she was in her seventeenth year. This was a loss which he never forgot. Most of the children were long lived. Mary, the eldest, died at the age of ninety-two years in New Orleans in 1920; the youngest of the sisters, Bridget, married George Swarbrick in New Orleans, and died there in 1913. John, the second son, survived the Cardinal. The third son, Thomas, died in New Orleans.

A final decision having been reached, even the hazard of a winter voyage backward across the Atlantic was not sufficient to deter Mrs. Gibbons. She embarked with her children at Liverpool in January, 1853, on a sailing ship bound for New Orleans. For two months the little family endured the buffeting of gales before the islands skirting the American coast were sighted.

The trials of the voyage seemed about to end happily when near midnight, on March 17, the vessel went hard aground on a sand bar close to the island of Grand Bahama, fifty-seven miles from the lights of the Florida shore. Had there been a high wind, all on board would probably have been lost; but the weather was calm throughout the night, during which the passengers huddled together, facing an uncertain fate. When a brilliant Spring sun rose over the rim of the semi-tropical sea, they were transferred in small boats to the island,

whence they were carried to Nassau and kindly treated until they could continue their voyage.

James was within a few months of being nineteen years old when the family arrived in New Orleans. He soon obtained employment as a clerk in a grocery store on Camp Street, kept by William C. Raymond. The city held a distinct place, then as now, as the emporium of the sugar and cotton growing region of Louisiana, and of a large part of the Mississippi Valley as well. Into Raymond's store, with greetings of stately formality, came elegant planters, leaders of agricultural industry, to buy supplies for their families, their employees and their slaves, for six months or a year ahead. For them, the young clerk soon found, the periodical visit to New Orleans was an event of social as well as business importance. The Latin courtesy which the French stock of the city had brought into life there softened the stiffness of trade intercourse. Days were sometimes consumed by a planter in making his purchases in one store, and between him and the merchant there developed ties that reached far beyond the circle of commercial intercourse.

Alternating with these interesting personalities for whom young Gibbons' services were performed in the store, were rough river men who bought provisions for the steamboats that bore the great tide of travel—and of romance as well—up and down the Mississippi. Purchasers for families in the city were numerous, for Raymond's business prospered.

It was said of Gibbons in later life, when his versatility impressed so many, that he would have succeeded in any

occupation. Certainly there is ground for believing that he would have succeeded in business had he chosen it as a permanent career. That was the firm conviction of Raymond, who was attracted from the start by the young clerk's intelligence, industry and fidelity. The prospect of promotion was held out to him by his employer when he was thinking seriously of a permanent decision as to his future.

The year of the Gibbons family's arrival at New Orleans was marked by the worst of the many outbreaks of yellow fever which swept that city before medical discovery drove the scourge from the continent. Of a population of approximately 100,000, more than 10,000 died before the late frost brought deliverance. The cry "Bring out your dead" resounded in the streets daily, as wagons went the rounds collecting bodies. Hundreds, it is believed, perished from fear alone. James was the only member of his family who was stricken and he was attacked by the disease in its most virulent form.

He was ill throughout August, in the intense heat of the Louisiana summer, and his "good Creole doctor"—thus he spoke later of the physician who attended him—virtually gave up his case as hopeless. His eldest sister, Mary, nursed him when the task invited death for herself. In accordance with the then prevailing treatment for the fever, he was kept in bed under heavy coverings to cause perspiration, hot baths were given to him, and he was required to abstain from food. His weakness became extreme.

Youth and excellent habits were in his favor. While his health had not been vigorous, outdoor exercise had

fortified his vitality. He said later that he had felt no apprehension as he lay hovering between life and death. After his slow recovery, he was happy to find that the attack had left no permanent impairment of his physical resources.

A solution of his doubts as to his career in life was at hand. In January, 1854, after he had been in New Orleans less than a year, he attended a mission held in St. Joseph's Church which fixed his aspirations in the channel from which they were never to swerve. Three remarkable young Redemptorist priests, the Revs. Isaac Thomas Hecker, Clarence Walworth and Augustine Hewit, sailed from New York to conduct the mission. All were converts from Protestantism. Idealists by nature and gifted with brilliant talents, they had run the gamut of religious aspiration and had at last taken refuge within the fold of the Catholic Church as the haven where the eager inquiries of their restless natures might find satisfaction. Hecker was easily the leader of the group.[10] In earlier years, he had been a companion of Ralph Waldo Emerson and George William Curtis in the Socialistic community at Brook Farm. Embarking later in business life, the experience failed to satisfy him. He was converted to the Catholic faith in 1844 and had been ordained a priest but five years before the mission in New Orleans began.

On the voyage from New York, Hecker was stricken with pneumonia, and did not recover sufficiently to take part in the mission until near its close. Under the spell of a sermon preached by Father Walworth the priesthood

[10] Elliott, *Life of Father Hecker.*

became the goal of young Gibbons, in which determination he was influenced further by Father Duffy, a Redemptorist, the pastor of St. Alphonsus Church, and Father Dufoe, a Jesuit, stationed at the Church of the Immaculate Conception. He was also powerfully impressed by a lecture delivered in New Orleans by Dr. Orestes A. Brownson, the convert who became one of the ablest champions of the Catholic Church that America has produced.

Four years after this mission closed, Hecker, Walworth and Hewit, with two companions, obtained the Papal permission to found the Congregation of Missionary Priests of St. Paul, in which they realized their zealous hope of devoting their lives to preaching for the conversion of Protestants. The great work of the "Paulist Fathers" since that time has been their monument; but not the least of the fruits of the ardent labors of these three men for the development of the Church in America was the accession of the young New Orleans clerk to the roll of "Ambassadors of Christ." [11]

When young Gibbons announced to his family his decision to become a priest, he found his mother reluctant at first to acquiesce. Since she had lost her husband by death, she had grown to lean more and more upon her eldest son as his talents and character ripened with years, and in him she had hoped to find the prop of her old age. Mr. Raymond, too, was loath to see his youthful friend forsake a business career in which the prospects of success seemed so bright. A warm friendship had sprung

[11] Walworth was the son of Reuben H. Walworth, a distinguished Chancellor of the State of New York. Hewit had been a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

up between these two which was to end only with the death of Raymond, many years afterward. James' decision remained fixed and at last all consented to the step which he was resolved to take.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT DAYS IN MARYLAND

Coupled with young Gibbons' determination to become a priest was another decision unusual for one aspiring to a life of service within the Church. The sense of locality was ever strong in him; and now he resolved to make his native city and State, as far as his superiors would permit, the scene of the labors upon which he was about to enter. With him, charity and all good works began at home. Had he remained in Ireland he would probably have wished to minister at Ballinrobe or Westport. There was something in him which caused the immediate duty to those bound to him by association to loom large. While the pursuit of remote objects of magnitude often fascinated him, their attraction was less than that of the task at his own door.

The Cathedral that Carroll had founded in Baltimore in 1806 as the seat of Catholic influence in America was no longer the only one in the United States. New dioceses had been set up and Bishops consecrated, as the flock of the faith had increased in numbers. But still there was inspiration in the memory of the Catholic beginnings that had been made in Baltimore, and young Gibbons' imaginative mind welcomed eagerly the opportunity to go back to the city after the distant journeyings which had diversified the experiences of his youth.

Reflections born of another year spent in New Orleans fortified his resolution to devote the remainder of his life to the Christian ministry. Arrangements were made for his admission to St. Charles College, then newly erected in Howard County, Maryland, on land which had been the gift of Charles Carroll, "the signer," to the cause of education for the priesthood. Late in the summer of 1855, just after his twenty-first birthday, he left the city in which his family had at last found a permanent home and set out on the long journey to Baltimore. His younger brother John, then beginning to rise in the grain trade, from which he was to reap a harvest of riches, remained behind as the mainstay of their mother.

Although he had lived in New Orleans but two years, the young aspirant to the priesthood had taken firm root there, as he did in every place where he made even a temporary home. With the exception of the following year, in the vacation period of which he was not permitted by the discipline of St. Charles to leave college, for fear that the impulses of youth might cause him to abandon the life of service to his fellow men, he returned for frequent visits to his family during a period of sixty-four years.

Students of St. Charles College of a later generation heard from the Cardinal's own lips the story of his journey from New Orleans to become enrolled there for his first term. He thus related it:

"It is now nearly fifty-seven years since I started from New Orleans to Baltimore to take up my ecclesiastical studies, and I can assure you, for I know it from experience, that traveling in those days was not quite so pleas-

ant as it is to-day. There were no palace cars, no eating cars, no sleeping cars, and we had to sit on the benches of a day coach for several days. There was no railroad connection then between the Crescent City and the Monumental City, and I had to ascend the Mississippi River to Cairo; and I continued my journey on the Ohio River to Cincinnati, and there took a train for Baltimore over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which was then young in its advancement toward modern facilities of travel.

"The road was not yet complete, and when we reached the Alleghany Mountains we were obliged to cross a portion of them by stage. I reached the end of my journey after a travel of sixteen days. It now occupies about twice that number of hours to travel to the same place." [1]

The Cardinal added this expression of thankfulness to his Sulpician preceptors at St. Charles:

"I shall always hold in grateful remembrance the fathers of St. Sulpice for having trained my heart to virtue and religion, and for having prepared me for the ecclesiastical state. I shall forever bless the memory of the Redemptorist father who advised me to select St. Charles College for the pursuit of my studies, and I thank an overruling Providence for having guided my steps to the institution."

Giving in the same address his mature impressions of the training to which he had been subjected, he said:

"When I came to St. Charles the strong discipline developed us. The fathers taught us to love God; they taught us by word and example to practice genuine charity and politeness towards one another. They allowed us liberty without license, granting every freedom com-

[1] Address of Cardinal Gibbons at the commencement of St. Charles College, June 13, 1912.

mensurate with good order, and they showed us the example of how to rule without tyranny. They shared in our pastimes and amusements, and their greatest delight was to contribute to our happiness and contentment of mind. They sought by every means to cure us of that sickness which is terrible to young students,—nostalgia or homesickness.

"It was a kindly but strong discipline, which developed the moral qualities of those who were called to the priesthood and eliminated those who were unfit; and I trust for the good of the American clergy that the character of the moral training given at St. Charles will remain always the same. What we desire above all are priests who are upright and manly, and put holiness of life in the first place."

Arriving in Baltimore on his way to the college, he spent the night at a hotel there. What he had seen of the city in his boyhood had been bounded by a narrow range, but he had heard much more of it from his parents when he was old enough to receive wider and deeper impressions. There was still the Cathedral, its two slender and lofty towers surmounted by crosses seeming like uplifted hands invoking a benediction upon the city. There was Gay Street, the first vista that had opened before his infant eyes, still much the same in 1855 as when he had left it. But what a marvelous change eighteen years of growth had brought in the city as a whole, as in some other American cities of that time! Tens of thousands had been added to the population and Baltimore seemed likely to overtake New York in the race for supremacy in numbers, a prospect which the change of economic lines in the Civil War swept away a few years later.

Instead of the cloud of sailing ships, from huge square riggers that roved halfway around the world, to graceful sloops that skimmed the surface of the Chesapeake like swallows, now a majority of the vessels in the harbor were propelled by steam. On the east the Lazaretto light,[2] blinking at the marine procession that passed and repassed, was no longer a lone sentinel on the outskirts of Baltimore, but the expanse of houses was creeping beyond it. To the west the swinging sign of the General Wayne Inn, bearing a gaudy portrait of "Mad Anthony" in blue and buff, which had once cheered the teamster with the thought that he would soon reach the city, was now well within its limits.

On a gloomy day in early Autumn the young student arrived at St. Charles, which was not far from Baltimore. The Rev. Oliver L. Jenkins, president of the college, received him. Father Jenkins called Ridgely Dorsey, one of the forty students who attended the college at that session, and said: "Dorsey, this is young Gibbons. Take him downstairs to supper." Thus began a friendship with Dorsey that lasted throughout their college days.

Gibbons had not been informed of the rule of silence which prevailed at St. Charles except during recreation hours and on holidays, and he spoke in after years of the extent to which it had oppressed him. He first observed it as the students marched to supper on the day of his arrival, though they were permitted to talk at the table. Soon afterward, when the bell rang summoning them for night prayers, complete silence prevailed as they entered

[2] A beacon for shipping named from the former site of a seamen's hospital.

the hall. As they went to the dormitory later, the line was headed by Father Menu, of whom Gibbons finally summoned courage to ask: "Where are we going?" The priest pointed silently to the bed which the new student was to occupy, and retired from the room without uttering a word.

In the morning, when the bell again rang for prayers, Gibbons was still mystified by the silence as the students filed into the hall. Father Jenkins stood waiting to officiate at the prayers. Gibbons, blithe, warm-hearted and inclined to be sociable as always, walked up to the priest and, putting out his hand, said in a voice whose echoes appeared to reverberate loudly in the prevailing calm: "I hope you are well this morning, Mr. Jenkins." Father Jenkins, of course, did not pay any heed to this remark, and Gibbons, embarrassed, subsided into complete acquiescence in the silence, although it continued to be a sore trial to him for some time.

The institution was then housed in a single granite building, erected from stone quarried in the near-by hills. It served for all purposes—recitation rooms, accommodations for the professors and a dormitory for the students. The style of living, as Gibbons afterward recalled it, was rather primitive. The dormitory was heated by a single large stove in the center, and in winter the students suffered much from cold at the ends of the room.

This lack of comfort was soon felt severely. The winter of 1855–56 was the coldest in Maryland since 1817.[3] The average temperature for the season was

[3] United States Weather Bureau Records.

31.4° Fahrenheit, nearly five degrees below the normal. The thermometer often recorded zero or thereabouts and the students had to break the ice in their water pitchers when they bathed. For the young man but lately arrived from the warm climate of New Orleans the change was especially trying.

Gibbons began his studies at St. Charles with the diligence that had marked him during his schooling at Ballinrobe. The course in the classics and other branches of knowledge in preparation for the priesthood was rigorous, being intended as a preliminary test both of the mental capacity and the physical robustness of young men who aspired to that career. Those who could not meet the exactions were forced to drop out, realizing their own lack.

The future Cardinal soon took high rank in his studies, and was at the head, or near the head, of all his classes throughout his residence at St. Charles. The thorough preparation to which he had been subjected by Irish schoolmasters stood him in good stead. In the interval when he had been a clerk in New Orleans he seemed to have forgotten nothing; in fact, men who were close to him after he had risen to high positions in the Church were unable to detect from their own observation that a single fact which had once found a place in his mind was ever dropped from it. The full course at St. Charles was six years, but he had no difficulty in completing it in two.

His zeal for the study of Latin was all that could be desired in an institution one of whose primary objects was to train future priests to think, speak and write in

the universal language of the Church. Father Randanne was the professor of Latin and he emphasized in his own practise the rigorous methods of teaching the classical languages which were then followed in schools everywhere. In the case of Gibbons, however, he soon found that the pupil gave some indications of surpassing the master.

One day the students were translating a lesson in Tacitus and Gibbons was called upon to read a number of lines. He pronounced them in Latin, following with a translation into English and then construing the sentences. Father Randanne had a habit of requiring students whose recitations he wished to criticize to repeat the reading of questioned passages in the hope that they would perceive their own errors. All in the class knew his meaning when he said to the young student:

"You will read and translate that again."

Gibbons obeyed the instructions, but read and construed the passage identically as before. Father Randanne was unmoved.

"Read it once more," he commanded.

The student went over the graceful sentences from the Agricola a third time, exactly as he had done on the first and second renderings. It was plain that he had no intention of attempting to obtain approval by making a change.

Father Randanne then explained wherein he had not agreed with Gibbons concerning the translation of certain sentences and that he had hoped for a change in rereading. He gave his views of the translation and was

evidently disconcerted by Gibbons' course. The young student maintained respectful courtesy, but gave no sign that he had modified his own opinions in any degree, for, being unconvinced, he could not bring himself to be guilty of even a shadow of misrepresentation concerning his real views. It was remarked of him by his fellow students on other occasions as well as that one, that he could not be budged when he believed that he was right.

For some time afterward Father Randanne, doubtless with the object of maintaining discipline, treated Gibbons rather severely, saying, "Come here, you Gibbons!" when he wished to summon him. But he always found that Gibbons knew the lessons well and that he had reasons at his tongue's end for all conclusions that he expressed.

Father Randanne, in addition to teaching Latin, had some disciplinary duties in connection with the students. He was careful to observe—indeed, it was his duty to do so—anything in them which appeared to him to indicate a worldly tendency, and to endeavor to stamp it out. When Gibbons arrived at St. Charles, it was the fashion of the day for young men to wear very tight trousers. He had left New Orleans with two suits of clothes made in the prevailing style, but in playing football and prisoner's base the seams soon began to rip. The stern Father Randanne had a new suit made for him, of which Gibbons afterwards said that the waistcoat came up to his chin and the coat descended to his heels, while the legs were large enough for a man of exceptional size. In bestowing the suit upon him, Father Randanne remarked:

"I will cure you of your vanity." [4]

In his classes Gibbons, while rather quiet on the whole, was inquisitive. It was said of him that the questions which he asked were clearly intended to bring forth answers that meant something. He obeyed strictly all the rules of the institution and his companions of that day who spoke of him afterward agreed that his deportment was a model.

Some estimate of the measure which the students took of him may be gathered from the fact that a number of them fell into the habit of addressing him as "Dominus" (master). Dorsey, who knew him perhaps as intimately as any one else at St. Charles, said that there "seemed to be something very great about him." It would appear that most of the students were rather puzzled by his exceptional versatility when they attempted to judge his character and attainments. Then, as later, he exhibited capacity in so many different directions that no single endowment appeared to impress the observer by sheer contrast. Combined with sweetness of character and unfailing good temper, he preserved a certain dignity through which nothing could break. Some of his friends accounted for the bestowal of his title of "Dominus" by this trait.

He impressed Dorsey as being characterized by simplicity, modesty, straightforwardness and earnestness—an accurate forecast of the Gibbons of the future. With the students outside of classes, he was not loquacious. His discriminating judgment of human nature, one of

[4] The anecdote of Father Randanne and the suit of clothes, undoubtedly authentic, appears in *Cardinal Gibbons, Churchman and Citizen,* by the Rev. Albert E. Smith and Vincent de P. Fitzpatrick.

the most marked gifts which he possessed, soon became known.

In time, he was sought as a leader in recreations, but he never pushed himself forward.[5] While he seemed frail, he was devoted to walking, and keen in outdoor sports. The students were required to take long walks for exercise and they often tramped the Frederick turnpike from the college to Ellicott City, the county seat, and return. Dorsey, who was the companion of Gibbons on many of these excursions, was fascinated by English literature and had an exceptional admiration for the works of Samuel Johnson. The two often talked of Johnson with enthusiasm, in which there were some traces of the critical, as they swung along the smooth roadway at an easy gait.

Prisoner's base, handball and football were the chief games in which the students indulged. Gibbons was ardent in these and was also fond of foot racing. He had a habit of leaping fences and walls when on his pedestrian excursions.

Across the Frederick turnpike from the college grounds was the manorial estate of the Carroll family, of which the site of St. Charles had been a part. At the time of Gibbons' studies there, the master of the manor was Colonel Charles Carroll, grandson of the famous man for whom he had been named, and the father of a future Governor of Maryland, then a boy on the estate.[6] The students were free to roam over the manor grounds at will and to pluck the fruit which grew there in abundance.

[5] *Reminiscences of Ridgely Dorsey.*
[6] John Lee Carroll.

At times the Sulpician fathers, supplementing the simple rations upon which they and the students subsisted, sent several of the young men to gather cherries from the abundance which reddened numerous trees on the estate, and Gibbons shared in these quests.

One of his comrades at St. Charles was John S. Foley, a member of a Catholic family of Baltimore, later Bishop of Detroit, who, after the lapse of many years, wrote thus of his recollections of the future Cardinal:

"The burdens of his high office have told upon his slender frame with advancing years, and yet as he rises before my mental retrospect, I cannot see much change in the supple, trim figure that entered so ardently into our youthful sports. He still preserves the grace of movement of his early days, when, with all his apparent delicacy, he proved himself to be as elastic as tempered steel. Those were the days when the fixed rules of football à la Rugby were unknown or ignored, and I recall with an accelerated pulse the dash with which the Cardinal *in petto* broke into the mêlée around the elusive sphere and ruthlessly beat down all opponents.

"Whatever he did was done with all his might and that is the philosophy of his story. He engaged in his studies in the same earnest, indefatigable fashion that he exhibited at football or in the racquet court, and his mind was as active as his body, full of spring and resiliency. He was a youth, too, of noble and generous impulses and his unaffected modesty was the most charming trait of his character. All these splendid attributes he has carried with him into the turbulent arena of life."

Bishop Burke, of Albany, who survived to a venerable age, spent one year with the future Cardinal at St. Charles. He recorded his impression that Gibbons

"endeared himself to everybody by his amiability and obliging disposition."

So zealous was Gibbons to continue his classical studies, that he wished to remain at St. Charles for another year, but Father Jenkins refused permission for him to do so on the ground that he was already thoroughly equipped to enter St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore and begin the final stage of his preparation for the priesthood. He was therefore listed for his diploma in June, 1857. There were only four graduates in that year, some of those who had begun the course having dropped out. Gibbons was selected to deliver the address on Commencement Day to Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore, who was expected to be the guest of honor.

Impressed with the importance of the task committed to him, he spent a month, as he afterward related, in preparing an address and then notification was sent to Father Jenkins that the Archbishop could not be present. Another prelate was invited and Gibbons recast the address, only to learn a few days before the commencement that this plan had also been abandoned. It was too late to obtain the services of a distinguished churchman and Colonel Carroll, of the manor, was invited to preside at the exercises. Gibbons reshaped his address once more and shortened it, confining himself to references to the Carroll family and to the courtesy which the people of the manor had shown to the students during the period of their residence at the college. In this form he was able to deliver it.

In the summer of 1857, he was free to return to New Orleans for the first time since he had left that city. He

gave in a letter to Dorsey some account of his trip down the Ohio and Mississippi, which, picturesque at all times, deeply impressed his fresh imagination then. He wrote:

"New Orleans, August 7, 1857.

"My dear Friend Dorsey:

" 'What shall I say that thou are doing in the region of Woodstock?' Are you meditating on Brownson or Locke, poring over Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village' or locked in the embraces of your beloved Johnson?

"I hope at least, my dear friend, that you are enjoying yourself. I am scarcely yet settled at home, having arrived on last Saturday, after a journey of nearly three weeks. I have seen many strange things on my travels; after studying the theories of things for two years, I have taken a practical view of the world.

"By a trip down the Ohio and Mississippi you can see the world in miniature. You are sure to encounter on the boat Yankees and Southerners, French, Dutch, English, with a good supply of that ubiquitous (?) race —the Irish. There is no better school for politics, for here the merits of all parties are diligently discussed. You may judge from the length of time that I was coming down that I had enough of time to make observations. I cannot attempt to give you the least idea of the beauty of the scenery to be met with in these rivers. It is, I suppose, the most majestic scene to be met with in the whole world. If it were otherwise, I should be tired out after a confinement of fourteen days on a boat.

"I was telling you that I feared a disappointment in a boat at Cincinnati and my fears were realized. After arriving in that city on Wednesday, I was obliged to remain until the following Saturday, when I took passage on the *David Gibson*. I spent the first Sunday in Louisville, where I attended vespers at Bishop Spalding's magnificent new Cathedral, and the following Sunday I

spent in Memphis, Tennessee, where we were discharging freight. The third Sunday found me once more in the bosom of my family. I need not tell you what happiness we mutually felt in meeting once more after so long an absence.

"I have done very little in the way of study since I came home. My leisure hours are principally spent in paying visits and writing letters to our St. Charles friends. I try to read some English works, but I cannot lay my mind down to get through one at a time. I read a chapter in *Blackwood's Magazine* and then pick up Macaulay's *England*, Chateaubriand or some religious book. I had intended to ride out on the cars to see Venissat [7] but I was informed yesterday by the Archbishop that he had arrived safely.

"The weather at present is very hot but the city is remarkably healthy. This, in fact, would be one of the most agreeable cities in the Union were it not for those modern locusts—the mosquitoes. They have a particular attachment for me, as you could judge from my physiognomy.

"I am spending my time very agreeably, and I hope the same for you. . . .

"I hope you will favor me with a letter. I intend to leave the first of September, so in order to receive yours it must be sent before the 20th.

"I remain, your sincere friend in Christ,

"JAMES GIBBONS."

On the visit to Louisville mentioned in his letter, he had met for the first time Martin John Spalding, Bishop of that diocese and destined to be one of his own predecessors in the episcopal chair of Baltimore. Before Gibbons left on his vacation trip Archbishop Kenrick had

[7] A French student at St. Charles.

given him some pamphlets to be delivered to Bishop Spalding, who in the transaction of this mission beheld the self-effacing student whom he was to welcome to his heart later with the affectionate title of his "Benjamin," the youngest protégé of his old age.

With mental freshness renewed by the trip to New Orleans, Gibbons returned to Baltimore in September and began his training at St. Mary's Seminary under the presidency of the Rev. François L'Homme, a French Sulpician. Now there could be no shortening of the course by virtue of his attainments. Since the Council of Trent, the Church has insisted upon rigorously thorough preparation for the duties of the priesthood, and repeated decrees of Plenary Councils in the United States have reinforced that decision.

Learning is held to be essential for the vocation, but beyond and above that the supreme object of the discipline is to make the aspirant like Christ, as far as human nature can approach the sublimest of ideals. From the moment in the early morning when he is awakened by the resonant call of the priest "*Benedicamus Domino*," and responds with the formula "*Deo Gratias*" he is subjected until he retires at night to a calculated process whose aim is to intensify the spiritual aspect of his nature. Mingled with the stern course in philosophy, theology, Scripture, Church history and canon law, are prolonged meditations and devotions and searching scrutiny of character. Fatigue may grant no respite from the rigor that is intended to eliminate self and fix the eyes of the beginner upon the goal of service and sacrifice. In the midst of his sorest trials he must face his task without gloom,

for he must remember that the resurrection, with its life and hope, is the central fact of Christian theology.

If he gives any sign of wavering resolution or of deficient moral, mental or physical capacity, a quiet word is spoken and the seminary sees him no more. To only a carefully chosen group comes the voice of the Church declaring in the language of Holy Writ: "Thou art a priest forever."

The devoted fathers of St. Mary's had come to Baltimore in Archbishop Carroll's time to begin the work of training a native priesthood, and French influence was still strong in the institution, whose mother house remained in Paris.[8] Owing to the inadequate facilities at home in those days, many American priests were still educated abroad, and a large number of others who labored in the United States were of foreign birth. Protestant churches, which did not exact such strict requirements, early recruited their ministers from native soil and accepted them with such education as they could obtain at home. The Lutheran clergy, most of whom still spoke German in the pulpit, continued to be predominantly Teutonic; and not a few of the Protestant Episcopal clergy were Englishmen, or graduates of English colleges. A largely increasing number of Americans were seeking holy orders in the Catholic Church, and the tide was fast turning from Paris and Louvain.

A severe attack of illness prostrated Gibbons soon after his admission to St. Mary's. It was believed to proceed from malaria, a malady then common in the lower Mississippi Valley, often confused with intermittent fever.

[8] Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, p. 469.

Alternate chills and fever prostrated him, and for five weeks he was compelled to remain in bed most of the time.

This obstacle at the outset of his theological training discouraged him. There were serious fears both among the professors and the students that he was not strong enough to complete the course. On one occasion he entered Dorsey's room, staggered against the bed to support himself, and exclaimed despairingly:

"Dorsey, I am afraid they will send me home because I am ill and unable to attend classes."

He talked in this strain for some time, contemplating with intense regret the prospect of being compelled to give up his hope of entering the priesthood. At length a slow improvement began and in December he was able to resume his studies.

Called upon soon afterward to defend a point in philosophy, he surprised all who heard him by his ability and thoroughness, worthy of an advanced student. His success in philosophy became so marked that he was appointed master of the conferences held three times a week by the students to discuss the points covered by the lectures of the professor and to arrive at a fuller understanding of them. The teacher of philosophy at that time, the Rev. Dr. François P. Dissez, who had just begun his preceptorial career at the seminary, became greatly attached to Gibbons and his appreciation of the ripening mental power of the young student was keen throughout the course.

Like his pupil, Dissez seemed to be in frail health and some made the prediction that neither of them would

survive more than a few years, at most. Nearly all of the students and teachers who thus looked upon them with pity had long been dead when Dissez celebrated in 1907 the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into the seminary. The only living member of the philosophy class which he had taught as his first task at that institution was present in the person of Cardinal Gibbons, who voiced from an overflowing heart his affection for his old instructor. Through his long life, Father Dissez cherished as one of his happiest recollections the zeal and industry of his famous pupil.

Father Dissez left some notes on Gibbons' career at St. Mary's.[9] He recalled that Father Jenkins, president of St. Charles, recommended Gibbons to the faculty of the seminary with the encomium: *"Bon esprit; talent."* At the beginning of the course Gibbons ranked second in the philosophy class, but before the first year ended he took the lead and retained it. Father Dissez wrote:

"James Gibbons manifested the *bon esprit* at St. Mary's as at St. Charles' by his affability, politeness and kindness toward all, superiors and fellow-students. He was a regular and edifying seminarian. He profited by all opportunities to increase his knowledge. Even in recreation he liked to ask his professors about the subject matter of his studies or readings. He had a special zeal for the study of Holy Scripture; in his private rule he set apart one hour to read it every day. . . . Another excellent trait manifested by Mr. James Gibbons during his seminary course was his tenderness exercised in a special way towards his excellent and severely tried friend,

[9] Article by the Rev. Dr. Wendell S. Reilly, in the Baltimore *Catholic Review*, May 28, 1921.

Mr. Onthank, who died of consumption after a long period of sickness."[10]

Gibbons met every test at the seminary. He was described by his teachers as "having exceptional facility in his studies, to which he applied himself with great eagerness." He was "of a cheerful and even temper, and gained the esteem and affection of all."[11]

He received the tonsure in the Baltimore Cathedral, September 15, 1858, at the hands of Archbishop Kenrick, who conferred upon him the four minor orders June 16 of the following year. The same prelate promoted him to the subdiaconate June 28, 1861; to the diaconate June 29 and to the priesthood June 30.

Speaking at St. Mary's after half a century had passed, he said:

"If I have accomplished anything in my fifty years as a priest—if I have made men live better lives or guided their footsteps to a holier existence—it has been because of the influence of this venerable seminary and the holy men who taught me. They always said, 'come,' not 'go'; their virtue was always leading us and their crosses were always heavier than ours. In all my life, when difficult situations confronted me, when life seemed dark and unavailing, I have thought of the holy men who have been here at the seminary. It was always an inspiration.

"There is one thing above all others which they taught, and that was obedience. I doubt if in the history of this diocese, since these good men came here to teach our priests, there has ever been an appeal to Rome by a priest from his Bishop."

[10] A fellow student to whom Gibbons had become attached at St. Charles.

[11] Records of St. Mary's Seminary.

Deep shadows were drawing over the country in the closing years of Gibbons' stay at the seminary. In their brief periods devoted to general conversation, the students had anxiously discussed the exciting events of the time—the John Brown raid, the fugitive slave riots and the formation of the Southern Confederacy. Blood was already being shed in the Civil War when the young priest was ordained. His associations and sympathies were with the Southern people, among whom he had lived, but his judgment opposed secession as a political step. He remained a Union man to the end, though taking no part by word or deed in the struggle that was rending his unhappy country. His not to draw the sword, but to preach peace and mercy; not to stir the passions of men, but to point them to the example of their Divine Master. He had chosen his path; where the Cross led, he would follow.

CHAPTER III

AN ADVENTUROUS PASTORATE

Stimulated by the plaudits of his preceptors at the seminary, Father Gibbons was sent to do his first work as a priest at Fell's Point, Baltimore, then a brawling outpost of the Patapsco river front. Rough men from many ports jostled one another in its sailor boarding houses and infested its squalid drinking places. Mingled with honest but for the most part unlettered wanderers, who followed the life before the mast or in the engine room with no other lure than adventure, were wastrels of dissipation who, by an abhorrent custom of the time, had been dragged half-stupefied from dens of vice by desperate captains to complete their crews. There were also fugitives from the law who found safety in sea-roving in those days before cables and the progress of diplomacy had made extradition generally enforceable. With such strata in sailor life, were reckless and often unfortunate stragglers from the fringe of Baltimore's population, who manned the oyster boats of the Chesapeake, on the wintry wastes of which in the dredging season there was no authority but the ruthless will of the captains.

In the rude stories which spiced the shore liberty of these men were echoes of pirate days not long gone by, and of privateer battles for treasure, in which much blood had been spilled in the early part of the century. Many

of them had sailed when the swivel gun in the bow was always kept loaded for action, and only a few years before there had been a general discarding of those waspish weapons. Some of the guns had been hastily tossed overboard, under duress of the port authorities, in the deep water at Fell's Point, where they have since been recovered as historical relics.

Further back from the irregular line of crowded wharves, but still embraced in the district of the Point, were the homes of honest and peaceful folk who shuddered at the turbulent scenes which they were sometimes forced to witness. They were chiefly small merchants and industrious mechanics, identified with the best in the sturdy life of the growing city. Among their neat dwellings rose the tall spire of St. Patrick's Church, whose Cross bespoke help and mercy alike to them and to the restless and wayward spirits who surged in the streets closer to the river.

It was to this church that Father Gibbons was sent as assistant to the Rev. James Dolan, who was called "The Apostle of the Point." Father Dolan fitted into his surroundings as one chosen by Providence. Stouter than the oak timbers in the ships swinging at anchor near-by was the soul of this priest, who hesitated not, by night or day, in storm or sunshine, to carry his message of salvation to the gentlest or the most sodden within his parish. He was ready to hear with pity the death-bed tales of men to whom came memories of Christian homes and peaceful green fields in distant lands, which, in the hour of dissolution, swept back over them, blotting out the years in which they had scoffed at the better

things of life. If a letter were to be written to aged parents or perhaps wife and children of those remote days, bringing a grateful message of love and repentance from one long absent, the priest was ready for the task. No obstacle appalled him. He was fearless in entering rooms rank with the odors of stale drink to care for men stricken with the multitude of diseases which the winds of the sea waft from port to port on the ships that link the commerce of the world.

One Sunday morning in July, 1861, the parishioners of St. Patrick's saw within the sanctuary, beside the familiar form of their rugged and great-hearted shepherd, a young priest, lightly built, yet graceful and well-proportioned, of medium height, with a strong face and a large, firm mouth, softened by a singularly sweet and winning expression. When he spoke his voice was clear, almost perfectly toned and musical, like the notes of a silver bell, and reached easily to the furthest recesses of the church. The fascination of his manner won the hearts of all.

On that day he was introduced to the members of the congregation as Father Gibbons, newly appointed to help in the work of the parish.[1] The tidings passed around, with a background of half quizzical inquiry, "Father Dolan has another assistant," for his people knew that several young priests had been sent to help the pastor within a short period of years and that, one by one, they had vanished.

[1] Mr. John Malloy of Baltimore, who survived to a venerable age, recalled distinctly the brief period of Father Gibbons' life when he was stationed at St. Patrick's, and the impression he produced on the congregation, of which Mr. Malloy was a member at the time. Some of his recollections have been incorporated in this chapter.

In truth, the "Apostle of the Point" was so weighted with a sense of the especial needs of the work which lay at his hand that he could not bring himself to entrust any important part of it to others. If there was a sick call, he himself must go; if a confession, he must hear it; if a funeral service, he must perform it and share in the sorrow of the bereft; if a wedding, he must celebrate it and join in the felicitations of the parishioners who might be concerned. He felt that, more than any one else, he knew his people, their unvoiced needs and the means of opening their hearts to the ministrations of Christianity which experience had impressed upon him. Archbishop Kenrick had long sympathized with the heavy burdens which Father Dolan took upon himself and repeatedly urged him to avail himself of an assistant, but he continued unwilling to lean upon the help of a younger man, unfamiliar with the currents of life that surged round his picturesque field of labor.

Father Gibbons, for all his tact and submissiveness, was no exception to the rule. He began the work at Fell's Point with as much activity as Father Dolan would sanction but he soon saw that he was to have as little real share in it as his predecessors. Seven years before that time Father Dolan, in his missionary zeal, had built a little church on the edge of the city's eastern boundary, in a district called Canton, and named it St. Bridget's, after the patron saint of his mother, who was also the patron saint of Father Gibbons' mother. It was still within the jurisdiction of St. Patrick's parish, and Father Gibbons had not been ordained more than six weeks when Father Dolan sent him there to stay, saying in his

WHERE GIBBONS SERVED HIS ONLY PASTORATE

St. Bridget's Church, Baltimore, in 1865

blunt way: "Canton is a good school for a young priest." Toward the end of 1861, Gibbons was made full pastor of St. Bridget's by Archbishop Kenrick and began in an independent field the only work as a parish priest which he was destined to do.

The church stood on what was then called Canton Lane, in a lonely place, surrounded by a wide expanse of farms and market gardens. Only one dwelling—that of Mrs. Bridget Smyth, a devoted member of the congregation, four of whose grandsons became priests—was near. There was no rectory and Father Gibbons took up his residence in a few small rooms built against one end of the church, lacking in light and ventilation, the boards of the floor touching the ground.

The good Mrs. Smyth, pitying the young pastor for the hardships which he faced, sent him his first meal on the Saturday evening when he arrived at Canton to begin his labors.[2] She cared for the housekeeping at the rectory for some time, assisted by her daughters, and as a further mark of her solicitude sent one of her sons to sleep there every night, for it was considered dangerous to be alone in that isolated locality, where the hand of the law seemed not to reach.

The sweetness of Father Gibbons' personal ties, which so many of the great and small of this world found to be one of his most striking traits in his fruitful years that were to follow, had already become bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh; and gratitude for Mrs. Smyth's simple acts of kindness remained imprinted upon his heart, alike

[2] Surviving members of the Smyth family were the authorities for a number of these statements.

in the forests of North Carolina and the stately halls of the Vatican. One night years afterward, attending a fair at St. Bridget's, when the vivid red which he wore proclaimed the rank to which he had risen, he asked if any one named Smyth were present. A little girl went forward and he said:

"When I came to this parish first, your grandmother was good to me. No matter where any of her people may be, I am always glad to see them. Never hesitate, my child, to come and speak to me whenever you wish. Old memories and old faces bring back to me a flood of recollections that carry with them a great deal of joy."

The neighborhood, in the temper of the times, was turbulent and dangerous. In the "Know Nothing" frenzy which had lately passed, lawless groups bearing the names of "Blood Tubs" and "Rough Skins," inflamed with hatred for foreigners, had terrorized Canton, seeking to drive from the polling places and proscribe from all political activity those who dared to differ from them. The first of the "Blood Tubs" had been butchers who carried half-hogsheads of beef blood to the polls and bespattered with the contents citizens who would not vote the anti-foreign ticket. Their circle had been swelled by other elements of the population eager to participate in the savage license of their operations. Alone of all the American states, Maryland had been carried by the "Know Nothing" party in a general election [3] and though it soon spurned its new found idols, traces remained of the violence of thought and action with which it had been racked.

[3] McSherry, *History of Maryland* (continued by James), p. 352.

As the fury of the movement waned, the Civil War, with its fierce clashes of opinion in a border State, rent the city into two hostile camps. Federal troops swarmed in and took possession, averting at the point of the bayonet the threatened secession of Maryland. Armed force supplanted civil law and the volunteer soldiers, not yet trained to the restrictions of discipline, terrorized the community.[4] Cannon frowned upon the city from a chain of fortifications which were hastily thrown up, one of which, Fort Marshall, was in what is now Highlandtown, within the boundaries of Father Gibbons' parish.

The congregation of St. Bridget's was small, composed for the most part of laboring men from the Canton copper works and rolling mills, whose daily clang of machinery broke upon the peace of the farms and market gardens. A number of the neighboring rural families were also in the circle of worshipers. Father Gibbons, affable then as always, tireless in his activity despite the frailty of the flesh, soon came to know every member of his flock by name. Some of them remained his friends and familiars for generations, and his smile and instant recognition were theirs whenever he met them. Quickly he came to acquire an intimate knowledge of their personal affairs, their family life, their material hopes and strivings. The powers of his fast ripening mind and the poise of judgment which he possessed even in early manhood were ready to guide them in the affairs of this world as well as of the world to come.

The crudeness of the living conditions to which he was

[4] Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 132.

subjected was made worse by his own act. He gave up a part of his scanty quarters for the purposes of a hall for fairs, meetings and other church uses, leaving only a small sleeping room which he could call his own. Returning at night from pastoral calls while a meeting was in progress, he was sometimes compelled to pass through the group of parishioners in order to reach this room, saying as he bade them a smiling good night: "I must go to bed now." So completely did he discard thought of personal comfort that he established a parochial school directly above his room, and the noise of the trampling overhead did not seem to diminish his satisfaction that the children of his parish were thus helped to start well in life at a time when educational facilities in America were gravely deficient.

His fertile mind continued to conceive new plans and he formed the project of building a brick rectory in conformity with the simple architectural style of the church; but there were no funds for the purpose and the resources of the little congregation were far from sufficient for the task. Nothing daunted, the young pastor decided to obtain a large building in the center of the city for a fair to raise money and applied to the lessee of Carroll Hall, a place in which many large public assemblies were held in those days. To his surprise, he found the lessee by no means inclined to grant the application, but he explained and pleaded and at length obtained what he desired, besides ample apologies for what had seemed to be discourtesy. A few words explained all: "I thought you were a Yankee," said the stout-hearted sympathizer with the Confederacy.

Thus tightly were the lines of the conflict drawn in Baltimore, not only in political and business affairs, but even in the home circle, where the strongest ties of affection were sometimes transformed into the estrangements of years. So intense was the war feeling that part of the congregation of the Cathedral left on several occasions when the prayer for the authorities was said. This prayer had been framed by Archbishop Carroll and among other things, besought that the people might be "preserved in union," which by no means accorded with the views of the secessionists.

Gibbons wrote of this at a later period:

"I can very well remember a painful experience which the Archbishop (Kenrick) went through during the first year of the war. We have a prayer in America composed by Archbishop Carroll for all estates of men in the Church of God, and it was the Archbishop's custom to have this prayer read publicly before Mass in the vernacular, especially in the Cathedral Church where, by the way, it is still read. In this prayer there is a petition that the union of the American people may be preserved; and when the Southern states began to secede, so high did secession sentiment run in Baltimore that some of the clergy begged him to omit the prayer in which the objectionable petition found its place.

"At last, when all the clergy of the Cathedral had begged to be excused, the Archbishop determined to read it himself, and I suppose that during the reading of that prayer he suffered more than one could well imagine; for when he mentioned the Union of the States, many people got up and publicly left the Cathedral, and those who remained expressed their dissent from the Archbishop's petition by a great rustling of papers and silks.

"It was from his Grace that I imbibed a strong attachment to the Union. I had been born a Southerner and brought up a Southerner and my heart was, of course, with the Southern states. Indeed, my brother was actually fighting in the army of the Confederacy; but I could never believe that secession would succeed and even if it should succeed I could not help but see that it would be the destruction of what was already a growing and what might become a very great nation. Therefore my head was always with the Union." [5]

The fair at Carroll Hall and others held for the same purpose were so successful that a well constructed brick rectory soon rose beside the church at Canton, with scarcely any direct cost to the congregation. The young pastor used all his resources in stimulating these efforts. One summer in the course of a visit to New Orleans to see his mother she gave him a gold watch to take the place of a silver one which had been a gift to him from his sister while he was in college. When he returned to St. Bridget's, the silver watch was contributed to the money raising project and a considerable sum was realized by disposing of it. The parishioner who obtained it treasured it throughout his life and when he was far advanced in years it was an open sesame to an audience with the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore.

Soft berths were not for newly ordained priests of the Catholic Church in those days any more than they are now. The number of the clergy was far below the requirements and the sacrifices pledged in ordination vows were exacted to the point of literal fulfilment.

[5] "My Memories," Cardinal Gibbons in the *Dublin Review*, April, 1917.

Soon after Father Gibbons went to Canton, Archbishop Kenrick directed him to take charge also of St. Lawrence's Church, since renamed for Our Lady of Good Counsel, on Locust Point, a mile across the Patapsco from St. Bridget's. Every Sunday morning, in midwinter snows no less than in the zephyrs of summer, he was accustomed to leave Canton at six o'clock for his double task of the day. He was rowed in a skiff across to Locust Point, heard confessions at St. Lawrence's, said Mass, preached, baptized and attended sick calls; then recrossed the river to Canton, where he celebrated high Mass at half past ten o'clock and preached again.

In storm and cold, his kind-hearted housekeeper used to bundle him up for the journey and tie her shawl over his head, but many of these trips meant keen suffering for him. Sometimes, when the river was impassable because of ice, he traveled to St. Lawrence's in a sleigh or carriage, crossing at the head of the harbor of Baltimore by way of Light Street, several miles west of Canton. As no Catholic clergyman may celebrate Mass except while fasting, it was generally about one o'clock in the afternoon when, after a morning's arduous labor, he could eat. His digestion was permanently wrecked by this ordeal, which compelled him to observe great care in diet throughout his life. He used to say: "It killed my stomach."

The fatigues and hardships which he endured soon caused a general collapse of his health. To his parishioners, as one of them recalled it, he seemed to be "going all the time." Some of them expressed the opinion that he "could not live two months." Tuberculosis was

suspected; but one day he returned from an examination by his physician and joyfully announced that his lungs were sound.[6]

Natural inclination developed in earlier years had made him a pedestrian and the large area of his parish, in which there were no public conveyances at the time, compelled him to tramp over the lonely roads on many of his pastoral visits. His habit of taking long walks continued throughout his life and was perhaps the most potent means of sustaining him in his manifold and prolonged activities, the endurance of which so often caused amazement in others. No detail of the field was too small to receive his painstaking attention; no locality too dangerous to be penetrated by the devoted priest, bent on his merciful mission.

His already trying duties in the care of two congregations were augmented considerably in labor and much more in stirring adventure by service as volunteer chaplain at two of the principal forts in Maryland. Besides performing ministrations to all who needed him at Fort Marshall, not far from St. Bridget's, he was called upon frequently for like service at Fort McHenry, within the boundaries of St. Lawrence's parish. The latter fort, hallowed by memories of the birth of the "Star-Spangled Banner," became early in the war the principal place in Maryland for the confinement of Confederate prisoners. Father Gibbons ministered to Blue and Gray alike, often

[6] Mr. John J. Donnelly and Mrs. Peter Hagan, members of St. Bridget's Congregation, 1861–65, who lived to old age, recalled distinctly a number of incidents of that period which have been included in this work. Traditions linger from the same period, which have been rejected unless confirmed.

under circumstances which touched his deepest human sympathies.

A case which moved him powerfully was that of John R. H. Embert, a Confederate soldier, who, obtaining leave to visit his family in the eastern part of Maryland, was arrested as a spy and condemned to death. As the young priest became familiar with the circumstances of this instance of court-martial injustice, he fervently hoped that some way might be found to avert the sentence. While he devoted himself to prayer for the deliverance of Embert, the sympathies of men powerful in civil life were enlisted by others in an effort to obtain a revocation by higher authorities. Besides Embert, who was a Catholic and whose spiritual counselor Father Gibbons was, two others, doomed to be shot after conviction of the same offense, were in the fort at the time. They were Samuel B. Hearn and Braxton Lyon. A fourth prisoner awaiting execution of the death sentence there was William H. Rodgers, said to have been a blockade runner.[7]

One hope after another failed in the desperate endeavor to obtain clemency for Embert, Hearn and Lyon, who were to be shot immediately after twelve o'clock Sunday night, August 29, 1864. On the previous night a number of men and women of prominence in Baltimore went to the home of John S. Gittings, president of the Northern Central Railroad, to beseech his aid in saving the lives of the three men. They urged Mr. Gittings to make a direct appeal to President Lincoln, relying

[7] Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 2, Vol. 7, pp. 792, 834, 1040, 1291; Vol. 8, pp. 87, 114, 115, 132, 395, 436, 650.

upon the fact that he had befriended the family of the President when the latter, hearing rumors of a plot to assassinate him, traveled to Washington by a circuitous route in 1861 on his way to be inaugurated.

Lincoln, in the course of the journey, had left his wife and children at Harrisburg, proceeded to Philadelphia by special train and there boarded the regular midnight train for Washington. Mrs. Lincoln and her three sons had continued their trip according to the original plan over the Northern Central Road from Harrisburg to Baltimore, where they were taken to the home of Mr. Gittings and hospitably entertained until they could go on to the national capital. Though Mr. and Mrs. Gittings had extended this aid to the Lincoln family in a time of sore need, the railroad president was a staunch Democrat and his wife was an ardent Southern sympathizer, the daughter of Colonel Ritchie, a distinguished editor of Richmond, Virginia.

When the visitors urged him to implore mercy from Lincoln in behalf of the three men, Mr. Gittings demurred, saying that he had no influence with the President and that in any event it was probably too late to intervene. They then turned to Mrs. Gittings, whose womanly heart was softened by their pleas, and she consented to go with them to Washington.

On the night fixed for the triple execution, the party arrived at the White House. Lincoln had already retired, but when he learned that Mrs. Gittings desired to speak with him he came down a darkened stairway, holding a lighted candle high above his tall and gaunt form. Gravely he listened to her pleading and replied:

"Madam, I owe you a debt. You took my family into your home in the midst of a hostile mob. You gave them succor and helped them on their way. That debt has never been paid, and I am glad of the opportunity to pay it now, for I shall save the lives of these men."

The sentences were suspended at once by an order which reached the fort such a short time before midnight that Father Gibbons had already arrived to prepare Embert for death. None joined in the rejoicings with greater fervor than the young chaplain. The sentence of Embert was afterward commuted to imprisonment in the Albany penitentiary for the duration of the war.[8]

Soon after the close of the war, when Father Gibbons had been transferred to the Baltimore Cathedral, he was surprised to receive a visit from Embert. They exchanged warm greetings, for he had conceived a high admiration for the young soldier who, in the ordeal at the fort, had endured with a calm and inspiring courage. Their mutual salutations were scarcely finished before his caller said:

"Father, I am delighted to see you under more favorable circumstances than confronted us at Fort McHenry. You did not have an opportunity of seeing a knot tied around my neck on that occasion and I ask you now to tie a more pleasing knot."

He had come to be married and Father Gibbons performed the ceremony.

One of the prisoners whom the young priest was called to attend at Fort Marshall was found to be in a des-

[8] Cardinal Gibbons' recollections of these facts as given here were supplemented by the reminiscences of John S. Gittings, grandson of the railroad president who befriended Lincoln's family.

perate state from fever. Father Gibbons heard his confession and then talked to the man of his life. The soldier had run away from home and his mind wandered back to his early associations.

"Where is your home?" asked Father Gibbons.

"In Ireland," was the reply.

"What part of Ireland?" the priest asked.

"The western part," said the soldier.

Father Gibbons at length found that he was from Ballinrobe and that his name was Conway.

"Ah," he remarked, "then you know the pastor of the church there?"

"He is my brother," the soldier answered.

"You are Hal Conway!" exclaimed Father Gibbons, and a burst of recollection came over him as he saw in the sick soldier a former comrade in the school at Ballinrobe which he had attended.

The meeting revived Conway in a marvelous way and his recovery began almost immediately. The priest sent him some fruit and other delicacies and continued to take a warm interest in him until his cure was complete.

Despite the fact that he was a Union sympathizer, Gibbons was sometimes "harshly treated," as he afterward said, by the military authorities at the forts at which he served as chaplain. He wrote:

"I remember that on one occasion after having heard the confession of a Southern prisoner, I tried to get him some much needed nourishment which had not been provided for him by the doctor of the hospital; and for this act, by which I tried merely to help a suffering fellow creature, irrespective of his politics, I was told that my

services would be no longer acceptable at the fortress (McHenry) and that I need not return. However, I did return, since I threatened to make known to the higher authorities what had taken place; and men who execute martial law with little regard for the feelings of those below them are often very sensitive as to the feelings of those above them." [9]

Father Gibbons' courage was repeatedly tested in that trying period. Returning to St. Bridget's rectory one night after attending to pastoral duties, he found a vagrant soldier sleeping in the yard and started to arouse him. The soldier, in a frenzy of rage at being disturbed, leaped to his feet, seized a paling from a broken fence and rushed at the priest with the fury of a tiger. Father Gibbons, realizing the irresponsible condition of the man and wishing to avoid a personal encounter, turned and ran toward his door, but soon found himself trapped in an angle formed by a wall and the fence from which there was no escape.

With a powerful sweep the soldier raised the club to strike him a murderous blow, when, realizing that he must defend himself quickly if at all, he summoned his strength, knocked the man down and thoroughly subdued him. When the soldier came to his senses he realized that the frail young man in priestly dress was more than his match, and beat a precipitate retreat.

On another night, arriving at his rectory after collecting money for the church, Father Gibbons found the housekeeper outside the main door weeping in a panic of fear. She told him that a crazy man was inside who

[9] "My Memories," Cardinal Gibbons in the *Dublin Review*.

had taken possession of the premises and was threatening everybody. Father Gibbons, undeterred by her story, calmly entered the building and found that the tale was not overdrawn. The intruder was of herculean size and was raving, a menace to everybody in the house unless he could be subdued. Father Gibbons found no weapon at hand but an umbrella, with which he belabored the man to such good effect that in a short time he forced him to leave.

Drunken soldiers were a danger to all civilians in the vicinity of the forts, but Father Gibbons was never known to quail before them, although he always avoided a conflict when he could do so. It was established beyond doubt that when put to the test he could defend himself against any one, for he possessed a high degree of moral courage before which men of greater physical prowess retreated in dismay.

Wherever he went the tragedies of war confronted him, sometimes relieved by bright incidents that seemed to dawn suddenly out of darkness. On one of his trips to New Orleans, which he contrived to continue at intervals despite the terrific struggle for the possession of the Mississippi River that was in progress, he became interested in Colonel Luke Blackburn, a soldier in a ragged jacket whom he met on a steamboat. There was a negro nurse on the same boat caring for a baby. On one occasion she wished to get a drink of water and asked Colonel Blackburn if he would hold the baby while she went away for a moment. The Colonel obligingly complied and soon he and the infant were on the best of

terms. The baby pulled his beard and played with him in glee. When the nurse returned, the Colonel asked:

"Whose baby is this?"

"Massa Blackburn's baby," she answered.

"Which Master Blackburn's?"

"Massa Luke Blackburn's."

It was the soldier's own child, born soon after he had started for the war. To his intense joy he learned that his wife was also on the boat, having come to meet him with the baby, upon whose countenance, reflecting some of his own features, he had never before looked. There was a reunion in the felicitations of which the future Cardinal shared.

On the night of Good Friday, April 14, 1865, Father Gibbons was preaching in St. Joseph's Church, Baltimore. His topic was the crucifixion, and he dwelt upon the ingratitude shown by Judas. With one of those apt similes which were characteristic of the style of his sermons, he applied the lesson to possible contemporary conditions, developing his theme on these lines:

"Imagine a great and good ruler, who had done everything to deserve the confidence and affection of his subjects, and who had lived only for his country and had no desire but for his country's good—imagine such a ruler struck down by the hand of an assassin! Would you not feel, my brethren, a deep indignation at his murder?"

A short time after the congregation had been dismissed, the streets were filled with scurrying people and from lip to lip passed the fateful bulletin: "Lincoln has

been shot!" In the light of the tragedy which startled the world, the words of Father Gibbons took on a strange significance.

That night there was a great commotion in Baltimore, intensified by the fact that the city was the home of the Booth family, of which the assassin was a member. A week later the body of the murdered President was brought to the city and Father Gibbons with some of the other clergy marched in the procession which escorted it to the rotunda of the Exchange, where it lay in state.[10]

The young priest's heart had bled for the agonies of the helpless which are always the fruit of war, no matter what the issue to be decided, nor under what flag the sword be unsheathed; and now it bled for the sufferings that followed as the wounds left by the conflict were slowly healed.

[10] Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 634.

CHAPTER IV

THE PATH OF PROMOTION

A decision formed after a sleepless night passed in a tempest of doubts in his isolated suburban rectory at Canton fixed the future of Father Gibbons. Surrounded by darkness and solitude whose peace contrasted with his own feverish thoughts, he attached to the resolution which was taking shape in his mind no more importance than might belong to an obscure priest's conception of his duty; but as the part for which he was cast in life was revealed by the passage of years his thoughts often wandered back to those troubled hours in June, 1865, when he struggled to decide whether or not to accept a call from Archbishop Spalding to become his secretary and thus to give up the pastoral care of the flock at St. Bridget's.

The deeper chords of the young priest's nature were touched as perhaps they had never been touched before. Other faithful men recently out of the seminary like himself might have seen in the call nothing beyond a welcome promotion which was likely to open a much larger scope of usefulness and influence; but to him it meant the turning away from a humble field of labor in which he would have been fully content to remain indefinitely.

It appears clear that he had expected nothing else

than to devote his life to pastoral work; he had not cared to make the ways of ecclesiastical ambition his ways. Besides, he felt in the ties that he had formed with the simple folk whom he served a personal force to which most men would have been strangers. The thought that these people might become lesser objects of his solicitude or that he could allow them to pass even partly from the circle of his intimate affections was abhorrent to him.

So it came that when the Archbishop's summons reached him he was plunged at once into the depths of a racking perplexity. As he recollected his own emotions afterward, he thought well of the prospect at first and was a little elated at the compliment. Soon this was succeeded by feelings which he described as homesickness and which rapidly ran down the scale of depression. The people of Canton whom he served were very poor, but thoroughly receptive to the ministrations of the Church. In a burst of youthful sentiment he came to the conclusion that he could not desert them. Spurred by the impulses thus aroused, he went post-haste to see the Very Rev. Henry G. Coskery, Vicar General of the diocese, and some of the other superior clergy, begging them to exert their influence with the Archbishop to permit him to remain at St. Bridget's.

He unburdened his heart with these eager petitions on a Saturday. Returning to his rectory in the evening, another flood of emotion swept over him, and he became, as he described it, "full of remorse." He pondered:

"Am I to carry out my own desires or to work as duty calls? Am I setting a good example of obedience and sacrifice by insisting upon remaining here when I am

summoned elsewhere by my ecclesiastical superiors? If this wish be gratified, I will be disappointed later for not obeying; I will realize that my field of labor is chosen by myself, of my own desire, and not in submission to the call of duty."

Pacing his room or tossing upon his bed throughout the night, he sought in vain through weary hours for light. At length his mind was gradually calmed and its confusion was lost in the harmony of a clear vision of the part that must be his. Rising early in the morning, he wrote a letter to Father Coskery retracting his previous appeal and declaring that he was ready with complete submission to obey the wish of the Archbishop. He gave this letter to a young student who was with him at the rectory to deliver to the Vicar General, and entered with a new peace upon the priestly labors of the Sunday which dawned.

Years afterward he would sometimes tell this story to young priests upon whom, faced by doubts such as his, it exerted a profound impression. He used to tell them that never would he forget the absolute misery which came over him in the darkness of that night. His whole life might have been—probably would have been —changed if he had remained at Canton; as he remarked when he was nearly eighty years old: "I might have been there yet." He felt that the ordeal had meant for him a revelation of the mysterious working of Divine Providence directly guiding the affairs of men, in which he firmly believed through every vicissitude to the end of his days on earth.

The people of St. Bridget's were as unwilling to part

from the young priest as he had been to part from them. A committee waited on Archbishop Spalding to beseech that he might be retained, setting forth in simple, heartfelt eulogy that his work there had been a means of blessing to all of them and that he was especially fitted to minister to their spiritual needs. The discriminating Archbishop replied:

"Children, he is too enlightened for me to leave at Canton. I want him near me."

Thus their efforts failed.

The position of secretary to the Archbishop of Baltimore is traditionally a stepping stone to promotion in the Church. It was then differentiated from all posts of corresponding rank in other dioceses by the fact that the head of the Primatial See in the days before the appointment of a Papal Delegate in the United States was to a great extent the representative and spokesman of the Supreme Pontiff in the country as a whole. To him were addressed all general communications from the Vatican to the Hierarchy of America, and he received commissions to act for the Pope in the adjustment of controversies and the administration of corrective measures. Through his reports Rome learned in large part of the operations and progress of the Church in America and of the numerous problems, some of them calling for the exercise of the greatest prudence and wisdom, which originated within this jurisdiction.

The duties of the Archbishop of Baltimore were thus greater both in importance and volume than those of any of his brethren of the same rank in America. His secretary, through whom the mass of his business passed,

was far from being only a transcriber of the extensive correspondence which had to be kept up. While the head of the See dictated the correspondence and documents that were considered vital, or wrote many of them with his own hand, as the archives of the diocese show, he entrusted to his secretary the framing of lesser communications of importance which involved wide knowledge of Church conditions, canon law and general policies. Some of those who filled the position of secretary rose to bishoprics; others to positions in the Church only a little less high.

Archbishop Spalding was in feeble health in 1865, having suffered for many years from a severe bronchial and gastric affection. The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore was near at hand and he needed as secretary a priest upon whom he could lean far more than usual. Thus he came to make requisition for the young man whose winning personality he first had an opportunity to observe in the visit which young Gibbons paid to him in Louisville when a student, and whose gifts of mind and character as exhibited in the minor field at Canton had produced a strong impression upon him.

The judgment of Archbishop Spalding was confirmed by a few weeks' contact with Father Gibbons in his household. The man whom he needed and desired had been found—one upon whom, in the exacting labor which he could not forego in his declining years, he could depend for help, both as to the largest tasks and the smallest.

Between these two, widely separated by age and rank, there sprang up the closest ties. "My relations with

him were of a most intimate and affectionate nature," said Gibbons of the Archbishop. "I reverenced him as a father; and he deigned to honor me as a son."[1]

Archbishop Spalding and his successor in the See, Archbishop Bayley, were chiefly instrumental in recognizing the remarkable gifts of Gibbons and obtaining his advancement in the Church to positions in which those gifts would be most useful. Both were keen judges of character and their vision penetrated the screen which the young priest's modesty threw around himself. In manner no one could exhibit greater simplicity than he. He sought to impress none by an appearance of either mental profundity or especial energy. In the presence of churchmen older than himself, he was accustomed to preserve a respectful silence upon important matters. Whatever task came to hand he did with all his might, but his aims, so far as any one could observe at that stage of his career, did not range far into the future.

It was difficult then for a man of average mental processes and powers to take the true measure of Gibbons, just as it was when he was at school and even when he became a prince of the Church. He avoided the mannerisms with which most men display their capacities of varying degrees. Appearing not to value himself above the ordinary, persons of a limited range of perception were inclined to take him at that estimate. He could seem to the lowly as one of them and yet men in high places thought him worthy to sit with them as an equal,

[1] Discourse of Bishop Gibbons in the Baltimore Cathedral at the Month's Mind service for Archbishop Spalding, March 7, 1872.

if not a superior. His dawning individuality was rather baffling to many persons.

Archbishop Spalding valued the young secretary's simplicity of character as well as his intellect. He found Gibbons not only alert, responsive and indefatigable in the performance of his duties, but a devoted companion whose vivacity cheered the venerable prelate. In his physical feebleness he needed some one to accompany him on the trips to health resorts which his failing powers required at intervals, and he found in his secretary one whose association pleased him in this as in every other relation.

The Archbishop wished Gibbons to speak to him on all subjects with complete frankness, valuing the sincerity which evidently inspired his companion, the youthful freshness of an open mind and the keen judgment of men and things obtained by contact with persons in all walks of life. Gibbons fell in with the mood of his superior. There was, in fact, a bond of congeniality between them which is seldom seen between individuals anywhere. When he had become Cardinal, the secretary of those days recalled as one of the most pleasant parts of his life the period passed in Spalding's household, and the informality of his relations with that prelate, with whom, he used to say, "I was rather free."

Among the resorts which they visited in summer were White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, and Sharon Springs, New York. Although the Archbishop was accustomed to relax his overstrained energies there, he never failed to perform the ministrations of religion for others during his stay. Father Gibbons said of him:

"On visiting one of the mountain springs or the seashore, his first inquiry was whether the neighborhood contained a church or chapel and a stationary priest. Otherwise he made provision at once for Sunday services to be held in an apartment of the hotel. He almost invariably preached, and the fame of his name was always sure to enlist a large and enlightened congregation.

"On the last of these occasions when I was with the Archbishop, he preached in a rustic chapel in West Virginia. The people gathered from the neighborhood to hear him and among others were several mothers with their infants at their breasts. During the sermon these babes kept up unceasing cries to the great inconvenience of the preacher and the annoyance of the congregation. One of the parishioners proceeded to remove the disturbers, but the Archbishop forbade, remarking to me, as we returned to the hotel, 'I would suffer any inconvenience rather than deprive these poor mothers of the satisfaction of hearing Mass and listening to the word of God.'"

At some of the places which the Archbishop and his secretary visited there were few Catholics, and discussions sometimes arose with guests in the course of which criticisms or misunderstandings of the Church were expressed or implied. Spalding was ready to reply to arguments and to dispel false conceptions, but Gibbons, as was becoming, was usually only a listener on these occasions. He thus recalled one incident of that kind:

"The Archbishop was informed that the proprietor of the hotel (at which they were visiting) had turned away from the religion of his ancestors and had also modified the spelling of his name. Desiring to cultivate the acquaintance of his Grace, he asked the Archbishop

GIBBONS AS PRIEST IN 1866

Father Gibbons Standing; the Rev. Henry B. Coskery Seated

whether he spelt his name *Spaulding* or omitted the letter *u*. 'Sir,' the Archbishop briskly replied, 'the Spaldings will never change their faith and they have never altered the spelling of their name. They were never ashamed of their faith or their name.' "

His duties in the direct relation to the Archbishop were not permitted to monopolize Gibbons' time. It was not in him to be idle or to limit his efforts at any period of his life to what might seem to be a narrow field. He was active as a clergyman at the Cathedral and in January, 1866, established the first Sunday School there, which became so popular that he was able to report in a letter to the secretary of the Maryland Senate, calling attention to the work of the parochial schools, that its average attendance in the second year of its existence was 500. This was proof of a remarkable degree of interest at a time when the Sunday School movement was, comparatively, in its infancy.

He taught classes in catechism regularly at Calvert Hall School and St. Mary's Orphan Asylum. At all times he was ready to respond to calls for his services at baptisms, marriages and funerals. It was well remembered that he showed exceptional zeal in visiting the sick and the poor.

The thoroughness with which he undertook every duty was shown by a long letter which he wrote to the Rev. Thomas A. Becker in Richmond. Father Becker had been the librarian of the archdiocese, and, when he was sent to Richmond, Gibbons was appointed as his successor. Before he left Baltimore Gibbons had a talk with him, endeavoring to learn every detail of the work,

and also studied the system in use at a public library there, in which approved methods of the time were in use. Still unsatisfied, he sent a letter to Father Becker asking for more information. He wrote of his request:

"You must not attribute it to any obscurity on your part, but rather to my dullness of comprehension."

He suggested a plan for placing a catalogue label in each book of the library and added:

"I offer this opinion timidly, trusting to your large experience and judgment more than to my own crude notions."

The letter concluded:

"The regret you experience in leaving Baltimore is felt, I am sure, by those of us who had the pleasure of forming your acquaintance during your short stay among us. I can indeed appreciate your feelings, for if I am so distressed at abandoning my own humble parish, I can well imagine your grief at parting with a place and with gentlemen so congenial to your good taste; but I hope you will have the reward of your sacrifice." [2]

His sermons soon attracted attention and he was in demand at churches throughout the city. At that period his rare gifts as an orator in the best sense which set him on a pinnacle as a preacher in later years were being rapidly perfected by experience and mature thought. The simplicity and force of his language could not fail to charm; his logic was sound, his learning solid; and the clearness and sweetness of his voice, which could fill

[2] Letter of Father Gibbons to Father Becker, November 24, 1865.

a large hall without effort, combined with magnetism of manner that gripped the attention instantly, formed a rare medium for the virile ideas with which his pulpit utterances teemed.

It was a time when the Church had need of her strong men. The passions following the Civil War were at their worst and grew daily in ferocity. The United States Government had used pressure at Rome against the appointment of Archbishop Spalding to the See of Baltimore, because it was feared that he was not sufficiently in accord with the policy of the Federal authorities toward the South.[3] This had failed and the Church had been able to proceed serenely on her mission unclouded by the storms of the political atmosphere.

Wide regions were in ruin and the ministrations of religion were more necessary and at the same time more difficult to convey than before the gigantic conflict. Hundreds of families in the diocese of Baltimore as elsewhere were mourning the loss of father, brother or son. In the counties of southern Maryland, the soil in which the Catholic faith had first taken root among English-speaking people in the western hemisphere, the slaves had been freed, and poverty spread its shadow where the refinements of an affluent aristocracy had lately flourished.

To meet the emergency by dealing comprehensively with all the pressing problems of the Church in America,

[3] Archbishop Spalding wrote in his journal February 7, 1864: "There appears to be no doubt that the Government is interfering at Rome in regard to the appointments to the Sees of Baltimore and New York"; O'Gorman, *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 433; Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. 4, p. 493; Riordan, *Cathedral Records*, Baltimore, p. 77.

the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore was convened in the Cathedral in October, 1866. Archbishop Spalding presided over it, and Father Gibbons performed an abundant share of the almost incredible mass of work connected with that undertaking. He was made the assistant chancellor of the Council, and for the first time was thrown into an arena where the larger outlook of the Church immediately confronted him. It wrought a transformation in him.

Here at last was the thing for which he was fitted. Now he had found a field so congenial that he was almost exuberantly happy all the time in his task. Labor seemed light as the broadening experiences which he met constantly stimulated him. His preference was ever for the greater task, and then and at all stages of his subsequent life the lightning rapidity of his mind—for he was already on the threshold of the fulness of his powers in 1866—enabled him to grasp in what seemed to be an instantaneous manner intricate and manifold problems which confused and thwarted other men. Mental conception on the broadest lines was easier and simpler to him than on narrow lines. In the atmosphere of the great operations of the Church his spirit and intellect found at last a scope worthy of himself.

It was soon evident, not only to the appreciative observation of Archbishop Spalding but to the men of exceptional powers and range with whom Father Gibbons was thrown in contact in the Council,—the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States,—that he fitted into these surroundings as if they had always been a part of him. Possessing traits of statesmanship that might have

carried him to any height had he chosen a career of political advancement, men of lesser parts began, as it were instinctively, to consult and trust him. Where others might be unprogressive, impractical, out of touch with the times, too ardent or controversial, he was cool, judicious, far-seeing, enlightened, inspired by sentiments of lofty patriotism as well as by the fire of apostolic zeal. He was already formulating in his mind those grander ideas which he was one day to impress upon the world; and his contact with the leading men of the Church in America served to give him the bearings with which he might start upon the decisive part of his career.

It had been remarked of him, as his powers developed, that he seemed destined for leadership, but he had scant opportunity to show his real mettle in the little field at St. Bridget's. Now he was on the eve of the development that was to be his. He rose to the opportunity with a strength, poise and brilliancy which none could mistake.

So thorough was the preparation for the Council which Archbishop Spalding had made with the help of his gifted lieutenant that it was able to complete its work in two weeks. Among its most important acts was the constitution of a number of new dioceses, subject to confirmation by the Holy See, to stimulate the spread of the faith in the stricken South and in fast growing communities of the North and West. One of the new jurisdictions was the Vicarate Apostolic of North Carolina. So strong an impression had Father Gibbons made upon the assembled Bishops that, although but thirty-two years old and only five years removed from the seminary, he was unanimously nominated for that important post.

So far from being elated at the honor bestowed upon him, which was all the more marked because of his comparative youth, Gibbons was oppressed by the "appalling burden," as he called it, and was long in doubt as to whether or not he ought to accept. His feelings were never the commonplace impulses which play along the surface of the average man's character, but reached the depths. To him no task meant routine, however noble that routine might be. A bishopric was a battle, and a bishopric in North Carolina at that time meant a battle in which the odds were heavily against him. He wrote to his friend T. Herbert Shriver, then a student at St. Charles College:

"Baltimore,
"February 19, 1868.

"My dear Herbert:

". . . The long threatened documents from Rome have come at last, or at least official letters from Cardinal Barnabo confirming most of the nominations made at the late Plenary Council. Among the batch was one for your devoted friend myself. It was stated in the letter that the Bulls would be sent forthwith. Already the Archbishop in his kindness is preparing for me some of the episcopal paraphernalia. In contemplating these shining but oppressive insignia I compare myself to a bull decked out for the sacrifice. . . .

"Do pray for me, dear Herbert, that if I accept this appalling burden, the very thought of which makes me gloomy, although I try to keep up a cheerful appearance, God may give me light and strength necessary for the tremendous office. . . .

"Your friend in Christ,
"Jas. Gibbons."

The decrees of the Council were signed by seven Archbishops, thirty-nine Bishops or their procurators and two Abbots. An important declaration, destined to be quoted as a precedent for the fathers of the Church in Rome itself in a few years, related to the office of the Supreme Pontiff. The Council decreed that he spoke with the "living and infallible authority" of the whole Church, which "was built by Christ upon Peter, who is the head, body and pastor of the whole Church, whose faith Christ promised should never fail."

Especial importance was laid by the Council upon regulations which were to guide the fast expanding body of the priesthood in carrying the message of the Church to the people. These regulations helped to prepare the way for the work that Gibbons was to do in high station. Preachers, it was declared, were to employ an explanatory rather than a controversial style in their sermons, and were to adapt themselves to the capacity of their hearers. Attacks were not to be made from the pulpit on public magistrates, nor were priests to mingle political and civil topics with religious doctrines. In reprehending vices they were never to become personal. They should declare the truth fearlessly, without being influenced by human motives. Prolixity in sermons was to be avoided and care must be taken not to bestow undue praise in funeral orations. Priests should avoid recourse to civil tribunals if possible. They should be careful never to attend nor to have any connection with improper spectacles and games.

Regarding the solicitation of money for Church uses, a problem of exceptional difficulty, because many of the

Catholic flocks were composed almost wholly of the poor, it was emphasized that priests were not to be importunate in addressing their congregations. The practise of taking money on deposit for which interest was to be paid was condemned. Entrance money must not be collected at churches. Free burial must be given to the poor. Catholics might be buried with sacred rites in non-Catholic cemeteries if they possessed lots in such places, provided they were not obtained in contempt of Church law. Marriages of Catholics and non-Catholics, far more common in America than anywhere else in the world, were to be discouraged. Bishops, it was directed, should seek to use a uniform method in granting matrimonial dispensations.

The clergy were warned to avoid idleness as a pest, for the Church has ever held that only in the ceaseless activity of their calling can they find the self-effacement which is necessary to divorcing their task as far as possible from the weaknesses of the flesh. Greater provision for the education of priests and the erection of preparatory schools as well as seminaries for them was recommended. Stress was laid upon the proper education of youth. It was urged that parish schools should be erected by every congregation and that the instruction, when possible, should be by teachers belonging to religious congregations. Catechism classes were to be instituted in the churches for children who attended the public schools.

Mingled with the definite acts of the Council, its precise rules, its formulas of thought and conduct, was the expression of a dream in the rich realization of which

the young assistant chancellor, as Archbishop of Baltimore, was to have the decisive part. That vision took the form of an expression of a strong desire for the establishment of a Catholic university in the United States which might serve as the capstone of a general system of Church education and afford to youth who sought to preserve their faith without fraction of loss an opportunity to obtain the greatest facilities for cultural development under the guidance of their own spiritual superiors.

In addition to the Masonic Order, long previously condemned by the Church, the Odd Fellows and the Sons of Temperance were classed as forbidden societies. The faithful, it was decreed, should not enter any organization which, having designs against Church or State, bound its members with an oath of secrecy.[4]

The closing ceremonies of the Council were attended by President Andrew Johnson, whom Father Gibbons met on that occasion, the first of a long line of Presidents whom he was to know personally, and with many of whom he was to have close and important relations.[5]

The nominations of the new Bishops were not confirmed until 1868 and in the meantime Father Gibbons continued his work at the Cathedral. The surroundings of the archiepiscopal house there are singularly adapted to bringing out of priests their capacity for the executive work of the Church. Baltimore was for many years,

[4] *Acta et Decreta Conc. Plen. II,* Baltimore, 1868; *Sermons and Pastoral Letters,* Second Plenary Council, published by Kelly & Piet, Baltimore, 1866.

[5] Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* Vol. 4, p. 720.

and still is to a considerable extent, the Catholic center of America, the Rome of the Western World. The Cathedral parish contains some of the most important Catholic families of the United States, pillars of the Church since the days of the Calverts. The clergy thus have under their spiritual care a highly cultivated element in whose social life they mingle and from whose environment they draw inspiration.

The archiepiscopal residence stands in dignified semi-isolation upon a large lot on Charles Street in surroundings which in 1865–68 were almost Athenian in their refinement. It is of gray stone and brick, two stories high, with a large basement, and is constructed along graceful lines with the breadth of proportion characteristic of Baltimore homes of the better class in the early part of the nineteenth century, but without any trace of magnificence of architecture or ornament. At the rear a paved walk leads to the Cathedral, which stands, like the house, on a commanding eminence overlooking downtown Baltimore.

A tall flight of steps leads to the front door of the house, which sets back in a recess of the wall. Inside is an English hallway, extending the full length of the building, flanked on each side by spacious rooms furnished with simplicity, almost scantily. Not a trace of luxury is to be seen. On the walls are religious paintings and portraits of prelates identified with the archdiocese, with a bust or two here and there. A bay window standing out boldly is a vantage-point for reviewing parades.

The residence was originally a small building erected during the administration of Archbishop Whitfield and

occupied by him for the first time in 1830. Captain William Kennedy and his wife contributed a large sum in 1865, the year in which Father Gibbons began his work in the household, by means of which two wings were built and another story was added. A conspicuous tablet in the well-stocked library commemorates this gift.

Here, when Gibbons was a member of Archbishop Spalding's staff, was the heart of fashionable Baltimore. Across the street and up and down were the houses of the rich and cultured, the historic families of Maryland, and on the sidewalks trooped the belles and beaux of the city. Charles Street at that point did not twist as sharply in 1865 as its neighbor, St. Paul Street, which is said to have followed the tracks of a cow-path in colonial times; but so numerous were the hills that scarcely a level spot was to be found in it. Inside and outside the archiepiscopal residence the atmosphere was one of lofty things and every priest who lived there felt its stimulus.

CHAPTER V

NORTH CAROLINA MISSION LABORS

As the "boy Bishop"—the youngest of twelve hundred in the world-wide Catholic Hierarchy and one of the youngest upon whom that rank was ever conferred—the new Vicar Apostolic started on his mission to North Carolina. He was elevated to the episcopate in the Baltimore Cathedral, August 16, 1868, receiving as his titular See Adramyttum, one of the ancient seats of the faith in Asia Minor which had been severed from Christendom by the scimitar. Archbishop Spalding conferred the crozier, ring and miter upon him and at the same time upon another graduate of the "School of Bishops"—the Baltimore Cathedral household—the Rev. Thomas A. Becker, who had been appointed to the See of Wilmington, Delaware.

What a difference between the tasks marked out for these two men! What a difference between the Wilmingtons to which they were going! In Wilmington, Delaware, situated in one of the smallest and least populous American States, there were single Catholic churches whose congregations were larger than the entire Catholic community of North Carolina, then numbering barely 800 souls among 1,000,000 inhabitants in that large commonwealth. There was in Delaware no lack of priests, with rectories and parochial halls for them and means

GIBBONS AS THE YOUNGEST BISHOP

From a photograph taken soon after he became Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina.

at hand for the modest material sustenance which they required. In Wilmington, North Carolina, on the other hand, there was but one priest and in all the remainder of the State, stretching nearly five hundred miles from the mountains to the sea, there were only two. Of these three it might be almost said that, like their Divine Exemplar, they had nowhere to lay their heads.

Delaware, though its rural portions were isolated from the main channels of railroad communication and, in the post-colonial social conditions which lingered there, not a little of the prejudice against Catholics derived from English sources remained, was not, on the whole, unreceptive to the faith. North Carolina, except for a thin wedge of the population, regarded Catholicism with a deep-seated misunderstanding born of years of remoteness.

At the double consecration ceremony, another Cathedral priest, the Rev. Thomas Foley, chancellor of the archdiocese and afterward Bishop of Chicago, delivered the sermon. From the depths of an overflowing heart he addressed the new Vicar Apostolic with words of encouragement, even prophecy, as to the arduous mission about to be undertaken. He said:

"I cannot congratulate you on going to North Carolina, but I do rejoice for the honor which the Church of God has conferred upon you and I congratulate your flock, few and scattered, upon the advantage they are to derive from the Apostolic mission you are to establish in that State, which, in a religious sense, may be called a desert. It will not be long, I predict, before that desert will be made to bloom and produce much fruit, and your

vicariate, now so poor and uninviting, will be able to compare with dioceses of longer existence in religious prosperity."

Father Foley could not allow the occasion to pass without bearing testimony to the priestly virtues which he had observed in close contact with Bishop Gibbons, saying:

"You have been associated with us, like your right reverend companion at this altar. You were of our household and home. We have had the opportunity of observing in both of you not only those great characteristics which ought to be found in every Christian priest, but also those interior traits of virtue which embellish and complete the man of God. We, then, who have lived with you for years, if our testimony be of value, added to that which the Holy Spirit, the Supreme Pontiff and the prelates of our country have given, cheerfully and truthfully give it. We have seen you both doing the toil of the priesthood, helping the poor, instructing the ignorant, visiting the sick at all hours, thinking nothing too laborious or too fatiguing and always willing to take not only your share of the labors, but ready to take a larger portion that you might relieve your brother priests." [1]

The young Vicar Apostolic remained in Baltimore for a short time, continuing his assistance to Archbishop Spalding. One of his earliest episcopal acts was to confirm a class at St. Bridget's, where his former parishioners welcomed him with a joy that reflected their affectionate interest in his rising career and their gratitude for the labors which he had performed among them.

[1] An extended account of these ceremonies was given in the *Catholic Mirror*, then the Church paper of the Baltimore Archdiocese, August 22 1868, which is the authority for many of the facts related here.

Among the first of his North Carolina flock with whom he came in close contact was a young woman, Frances Fisher, known later as a successful novelist under the pen name of Christian Reid, who has recorded her impressions of him at that period.[2] In 1867 she had just been received into the Church as a convert. She went to Baltimore in the winter of 1867–68 and was instructed in the faith by Bishop-designate Gibbons, of whom she thus wrote many years later:

"At that time the news had come to the small band of Catholics in North Carolina that they were to have a Bishop of their own and that the choice of the Holy See had fallen on a priest attached to the household of the Archbishop of Baltimore. So it chanced that when, as a very youthful convert just received into the Church and seeking a spiritual guide for those first steps in the practice of the faith which are so difficult for a convert, I went to Baltimore in the winter of the year mentioned, it was with the consciousness of a certain claim upon the attention of one who, although personally unknown to me, was the designated Vicar Apostolic of the State from which I came. How readily this claim was acknowledged, with what courtesy and kindness the stranger who sought him was received, no one who knows Cardinal Gibbons can doubt, for the suavity which has always been such a marked trait of the prelate was not less a trait of the priest.

"Looking back with a much wider knowledge than I then possessed, I am sure that no convert ever found a gentler or more winning guide nor one who more quickly made the newcomer feel at home in her Father's house. It is not strange, therefore, that in all the memories of

[2] Miss Fisher was the daughter of a Confederate colonel who had been killed early in the Civil War. She became Mrs. Tiernan.

one whom I was destined afterward to see often and to know at least comparatively well, the earliest are the most vivid, and that beside the splendid, scarlet-clad figure of the Cardinal, there stands ever a picture of the modest young priest, of whom Archbishop Spalding, kindest and most genial of prelates, remarked, turning an affectionate glance upon him: 'You know, we are going to send this little man as Bishop down to North Carolina.' " [8]

Severe illness prostrated Gibbons almost on the eve of his installation in his new post. He wrote to his friend T. Herbert Shriver:

"Baltimore,
"Oct. 19, 1868.

"My dear Herbert:

"I received and read your letter in my sick bed on Friday or Saturday. I am just recovered, thank God, from a sudden attack of illness which the doctor feared at one time might culminate in pneumonia.

"I had an engagement to preach yesterday in the Cathedral in behalf of my new diocese, and, notwithstanding my feeble health, I managed to crawl into the pulpit and say something to the point, and I believe with fruitful result to myself if not to the congregation. It is good even for the preacher himself to profit by his preaching. . . .

"Truly yours in our Lord,
"James Gibbons."

Archbishop Spalding, although indisposed on account of his health to make long journeys, broke his rule of custom to accompany his protégé to North Carolina for the installation ceremonies there. They arrived in Wilmington on Friday evening, October 30, and were greeted

[8] Letter of Christian Reid, December, 1911.

by a delegation of the laity headed by the Rev. Mark S. Gross, the priest of St. Thomas' Church, the only sanctuary of the Catholic faith in that city. The ecclesiastical visitors were escorted in carriages to the residence of Colonel F. W. Kerchner, one of the prominent residents of Wilmington and a parishioner of St. Thomas', who welcomed them with Southern hospitality. Major Reilly made an address in behalf of the scant body of the laity, expressing gratitude that at last a Bishop had been sent to the state to build up the work of the Church and pledging the cooperation of Catholics as far as their means would go.

The new Bishop, who had already developed that singular felicity of expression on public occasions which often served him so well, responded with thanks for the warm-hearted sincerity of his reception. He avowed the hope that the future would strengthen the bonds established between the diocese and himself. The Catholics in the State, he knew, were few. He had not come among them to seek personal comfort; sent by constituted authority, he had only one object—their spiritual guidance and the salvation of souls—regardless of sacrifices and difficulties. He was ready to expend his utmost efforts in the work and he did not doubt that he would receive cordial cooperation. Archbishop Spalding spoke briefly, encouraging the Carolina Catholics with hopes for the spread of the faith.

On the Sunday after his arrival, while rain descended as if to fructify the seed that was being planted, the Bishop was installed in St. Thomas' Church. Archbishop Spalding preached, his sermon serving as a cordial

introduction of the new prelate to the vicariate, as well as a whole-hearted expression of his confidence in Bishop Gibbons born of the closest personal observation. The Archbishop said:

"Your Bishop was recommended by the council of Bishops held in Baltimore a few years ago. He received their unanimous vote and holds his commission from Rome. I know him well. He is beloved by all who know him in Baltimore.

"There are few Catholics here and they are poor. We cannot expect much at first. The Kingdom of God, steady in its increase, is the work of more than eighteen hundred years. The Apostles were poor. They enriched the world with their heroic deeds of Christianity. They never failed nor will they ever fail in their successors. I recommend your Bishop to you, not only to Catholics, but to all good Christians who have the spread of Christ's religion on earth at heart. . . . He has not yet chosen his seat. For the present he will reside among you. He improves upon acquaintance. Though he will be found uncompromising in his principles of faith, he will be charitable to all and assist all, irrespective of sect or creed."

Bishop Gibbons postponed his own address to the congregation until vespers the same day. On that occasion he began with an appealing touch of personal relationship, expressing his deep gratitude to the Archbishop who had left many pressing duties in Baltimore "at the call of friendship" to establish him in his new diocese. While he had come among them as a stranger, he felt that he could not look upon himself entirely in that light, called as he was by the supreme head of the Church to be their spiritual father. Although he scarcely knew

a face among all those in front of him, he knew the people of the diocese as citizens and sons of the South, for so was he. They were not only united to one another by the bonds of faith, but were brothers linked by the ties of a common country and having the same material interests. He had not doubted that a welcome awaited him in North Carolina and would do his best to prove himself worthy of it.[4]

A more unpromising field for any effort requiring a call for material resources would be difficult to imagine. The contending armies had swept bare large areas of the State, the sudden freeing of the slaves had disorganized labor and there was a general paralysis of industry.[5] Added to these evils was the hopelessness bred by the political and economic chaos of the reconstruction period, when the State was dominated by a combination of negroes with émigrés from the North who were called "carpet-baggers."

On the night following his arrival, Bishop Gibbons witnessed a torchlight procession of negroes, a political campaign being in progress. As he described the wild disorder of the scene, it appeared like an inferno. "Is my lot to be cast in these surroundings?" he thought, with dismay.

The ignorant elements then in power even seized churches and devoted them to any use that suited their whims. Soon after the new Bishop arrived he learned how the Catholic church at Newbern had been saved

[4] *Catholic Mirror,* November 14, 1868; Wilmington *Daily Journal,* November 3, 1868.
[5] Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina,* pp. 178-183.

a short time before. Captain McNamara, of the Federal army, was riding past the church when he saw a body of persons gathered about the building, apparently in charge of it, and inquired as to their business.

"We have occupied this church for school purposes," said one of them.

"What is your authority?" inquired the captain.

"Our authority is that of the United States Government and of Jesus Christ," answered the school mistress.

"Well," remarked the captain, "that is good authority; but, as a Federal officer, I am accustomed to obeying written authority. Can you show papers from the sources you have mentioned?"

The teacher was at a loss for words and the captain continued:

"As you cannot produce the papers, my order is that you vacate this church at once and enter it no more for such purposes."

The Bishop soon had occasion to observe other manifestations of the corrupt and chaotic political conditions into which he was thrust. When he went to cast his first vote in the State, a negro official demanded that he show naturalization papers and he had difficulty in convincing the suspicious functionary that he was native born. Another negro official ordered him peremptorily to tear down a frame shed on the church property in Wilmington, because a city ordinance provided that buildings should be of brick or stone. The Bishop pointed out that wooden buildings were standing on city property, but the negro insisted and he was forced to cover the shed with tin.

Writing later of his experiences at this period,[6] he expressed the view that "while right-thinking men are ready to accord to the colored citizen all to which he is fairly entitled, yet to give him control over a highly intellectual and intricate civilization in creating which he has borne no essential part and for conducting which his antecedents have manifestly unfitted him, would be hurtful to the country as well as to himself." In a subsequent political campaign in Maryland [7] he declared against taking the suffrage from negroes by any method, but he adhered consistently to the view that their domination in political affairs would be madness.

The contrast of the Bishop's living quarters in Wilmington to those which he had recently occupied in the archiepiscopal house in Baltimore was great. Father Gross shared with him the scanty accommodations of what was called a "lean to"—four little rooms built against the rear wall of the church, two on the ground floor and two upstairs. The furnishings were of the simplest. These two devoted men of God slept on cots and ate from a table of rough boards, sometimes preparing their food with their own hands if they had no funds with which to employ help. The floors were bare of even a rug. Money was lacking then and for a long time afterward to erect an episcopal residence.

Bishop Gibbons and Father Gross became attached to each other by the warmest ties. Father Gross' large-hearted charity led him to give away so much that the Bishop sometimes found himself hard pressed to supply

[6] Reminiscences of Cardinal Gibbons read before the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York, May 25, 1891.
[7] 1908.

even the meager funds required for their little establishment. It was said of that saintly priest that if he had more than one hat or pair of trousers he was sure to bestow the extra one on some needy parishioner. On one occasion when he entered a store it was noticed that he wore a laced shoe on one foot and a buttoned shoe on the other. When asked about it he replied that he had given a pair to a poor man and had not noticed that they were not alike.

The penury of some war-wrecked families in Wilmington was relieved, even though it could be only in small part, by sums accumulated through the rigid self-denial of the Bishop and his companion.

Before he left Baltimore the Bishop had raised $7000 with which to buy additional ground adjoining St. Thomas' Church. It was a small building and he designed to enlarge it. Deferring this undertaking until a more propitious time, he consolidated the foundations of the work in Wilmington preparatory to a general survey of his vicariate.

Then began one of the most novel missionary tours ever undertaken by a Bishop. Throughout the State he traveled, preaching and teaching, winning Protestants as his friends no less than Catholics, studying each locality and, whenever opportunity offered, planting the seeds of a congregation. The frankness of his appeal opened a way for him everywhere and the leading people of the State, regardless of creed, welcomed him to their homes. When no other means were available, he instructed and preached in Protestant churches, court houses, public halls and even in Masonic lodge rooms,

which were in some cases the only public buildings available for the purpose in places that he visited.

Perhaps the most novel of these experiences was at Greenville, which he reached early one morning by boat. He went to the town hotel to register and there met Dr. O'Hagan, a Protestant physician, who urged that the Bishop should be his guest. During the morning he held a sort of levee, people of all creeds calling to welcome him to the town and wishing him God-speed in his labors.

When it was learned that he intended to preach, the local judge offered him the use of the court house and the trustees of the Methodist Church were so moved by the personal impression which he had made that they put their house of worship at his disposal. With a stroke of daring, he chose the church and preached there at night to a large congregation, nearly all of whom were Protestants. The people were summoned by the church bell; the Methodist choir assisted in the services; the Bishop, standing in the Methodist pulpit, read from a Protestant Bible and the only part of the service which was distinctively of his own faith was the sermon.

Everywhere crowds flocked to hear the liberal and zealous apostle whose fast rising local fame preceded him. There developed a pride in the youthful prelate, their own Bishop, preeminently a man of the people, mingling with all and gaining friends everywhere by his rare graces of manner. His gifts as a preacher were enough in themselves to form a powerful attraction in the communities to which he went. Aimed especially to win those who were full of hostility to his creed, his sermons were of the simple truths of the Gospel, the

brotherhood of man, duty to God and country. Prejudice melted before his words. In the broken condition of the South, it was recognized on every hand that where Bishop Gibbons founded a church it was an element of stability, of spiritual, social and material improvement, an inspiration to hope and progress. Carolinians knew that he felt their woes as his own and shared in their struggle upward from the ruins left by war. It was said of him that he came to know every Catholic in the State by name, as well as a multitude of Protestants.

Many of the Bishop's journeys were made in districts where the lack of means of communication presented great obstacles. On his travels remote from railways the vehicle which he used customarily was an insecure wagon of a type locally known as a "democrat." One of those [8] who later recalled this old wagon said of it:

"It was indeed a dilapidated affair, drawn by two horses. The Bishop sometimes had a young priest with him who drove, or a colored man who assisted. The space which they did not occupy was filled with packages of clothing and such things as sugar, flour and medicines. Most of these supplies were for the poor families with whom they might stop; but they also carried their clerical robes for ceremonies and food for themselves, for many a time did that old wagon stop in the forest where they must eat their noonday meal.

"We often asked the Bishop to give up the old wagon and get another, for it finally became so rickety that I thought it dangerous; to break down twenty miles from any human habitation is not a trifling matter. But he always replied that he thought the wagon might last a while longer. When some of the Church members

[8] Mrs. O'Connor,

offered to buy him one, he answered: 'Friends, you can give me the money, if you will, for the Church needs it, but not for any vehicle for my own use.' "

This wagon, despite its imperfections, traversed thousands of miles in the State on its mission of mercy and help, bearing him who would one day speak among the leaders of the world with a voice that carried authority. Repeatedly he risked life and health in assisting families ill from contagious diseases. Without a thought of personal danger—those who knew him best could recall no occasion when he showed any sign of fear—he entered straggling hamlets where every stranger was looked upon by the clannish mountaineers as a possible enemy. The whispered terrors of the "feud belt" could not deter him.

So rare were priests in North Carolina in those days that they sometimes had difficulty in identifying themselves. The Rev. Lawrence P. O'Connell, of the Bishop's little fold of three clerics, one of whom sometimes accompanied him, was traveling alone near Asheville, when, worn out by a long journey, he arrived at the house of a Catholic family and presented himself. The woman of the house had been imposed upon by a pretended clergyman some time before and instantly indicated her suspicions to Father O'Connell. He showed her his missal, breviary and vestments, which he carried in a valise, but still she was unconvinced. In despair the tired priest gave up the attempt and turned heart-sick from the door. Seeking spiritual comfort, he sat down beside a fence and began saying his beads. The woman

opened the door, saw him at his devotions and was convinced at last.

"Now," she said, "I know you are a holy man of God. I can be deceived by other things, but not those beads."

She welcomed warmly to her home the stranger whom she had so lately rejected with scorn.

In making a visit to an outlying community with the third of his priests, the Rev. H. P. Northrop,[9] the man whose guest the Bishop was to be drove up in a carriage sitting bolt upright as if by a great effort and gripping the reins tightly. When he drew nearer, it became apparent that he was intoxicated and was trying to discharge his function without betraying himself. The Bishop reprimanded him severely, saying that it was the first time in many years when a Bishop had visited the locality and that it was due to the circumstances that the host should conduct himself properly.

"Your Grace," was the ardent reply, "I felt so overjoyed because a Bishop was coming that I just could not help getting drunk!"

Making the best of circumstances, the Bishop and Father Northrop entered the carriage and each took a position on one side of their host, holding him erect by their combined efforts while he drove them to their destination.

Bishop Gibbons began his first tour of the vicariate on November 10, a little more than a week after he had been installed by Archbishop Spalding. Entries in the journal which he began to keep when he was made a Bishop record his experiences at the outset of that trip.

[9] Afterward Bishop of Charleston, S. C.

They reveal the painstaking attention to details which he did not consider it unworthy to practice in his work, and which often in the course of his life gave him a marked advantage in comparison with men who were less thorough. The extent of his success in breaking down barriers between Catholics and Protestants is indicated in a number of the entries. Some of them are:[10]

"10. Father Gross and myself visited Fayetteville, according to previous engagement. The church lot in Fayetteville is 300 x 100. The church is a frame building, 40 x 60, with a well-sounding organ, and galleries running all around the church. It has also a tower roof. The building is sadly in need of repairs. I ordered a shingle roof to be put on at once, at a cost of $155. The outside requires painting; the shutters, etc., should be repaired without much delay. Adjoining the church is a neat little pastoral residence, with three rooms and a kitchen on the premises. This is the oldest church in the State, or, at least, is on the site of the oldest, which was built in 1825—afterward burned. The present church, St. Patrick's, was built about 1835 by Rev. Dr. McGinnis, and has been successively in charge of Fathers Whelan, Murphy, McGowan, Ryan, Dunne and Quigley. Bishop England is said to have visited the place for the first time in 1821.

"11, 12. I preached on Wednesday and Thursday nights. The first night the church was comfortably filled. On the second night, available space in the pews, aisles and galleries was crowded. Some 500 were present, including a Presbyterian and a Methodist minister. The entire Catholic population of Fayetteville and immediate vicinity amounts to about 50. The sheriff of the county,

[10] The extracts from Gibbons' journal given in this work are literal transcriptions, except that the abbreviations which he sometimes used are spelled out for the sake of clearness to the reader.

Freedman's Bureau agent, officer commanding U. S. troops and clerk of the court are numbered among the Catholics. They gave me an invitation to be their guest at the hotel, which I thought it better to decline.

"13. I returned to Wilmington, Father Gross having advanced as far as Egypt [11] to visit a few Catholics. He will visit Fayetteville the third Sunday of every month.

"19. Arrived at Goldsboro, 81 miles from Wilmington. The population numbers about 3,500 souls, of whom thirty are Catholics. I preached in the town hall in the evening. Father Northrop, who met me here and accompanies me on my visitation, is staying with me at Mr. Robinson's.

"20. I confirmed eight persons, all the children of Mr. Robinson. Steps will soon be taken for the erection of a Catholic church in the town. I appointed three Catholics—Mr. Robinson, Mr. Wood, deputy sheriff, and Mr. Duffy—to secure a lot and raise funds for the erection of the church. The Protestants are said to be kindly disposed and willing to contribute to the good work. Father Northrop baptized a colored girl, previously instructed.

"Arrived at Newbern, about 60 miles from Goldsboro. The church is in excellent order, having been recently painted, sanctuary and aisle carpeted, etc. Bishop England visited this city in 1821, '23, 24. Steps were taken as early as 1824 to erect a church, in which year a lot was secured. The church, however, was not commenced till 1839. In 1841 it was completed. In consequence of the death of Bishop England, which occurred in 1842, the church was not dedicated till 1844, when that ceremony was performed by Bishop Reynolds. The Church of St. Paul was successively under the pastoral charge of Rev. Messrs. Barry (afterward Bishop

[11] A town in Chatham County.

of Savannah), Byrne (subsequently Bishop of Little Rock), Baker, Whelan, Fielding (who, I am informed, has apostatized and now resides in Columbia, S. C.), Gillick, Ferrall, Murphy, Doyle, Mulloney, Ed. Quigley, Coffey, Coghlan and Thos. Quigley. Father Northrop is now in charge. The Catholic population numbers at present about 110 souls, which shows a gratifying increase, resulting chiefly from conversions, as the aggregate population of the city is almost stationary. The congregation are devoted to their young and zealous pastor. St. Paul's is 52 x 36.

"22nd. On Sunday morning at 7.30 I gave confirmation to twelve persons, six of whom are converts. At High Mass I preached to a large congregation, the great majority of whom are Protestants. On Sunday night I preached another sermon, but a fire, which suddenly broke out in a neighbouring frame building, alarmed the audience, which hastily fled from the church."

Leaving Newbern, the Bishop stopped at Swift Creek, where he confirmed Mr. and Mrs. Nelson in a garret, "the only unoccupied place at our disposal." At the town of Washington, he "found the door of our good host, Dr. Gallagher, barred and the whole family absent at a wedding." On the 26th, he "said Mass in Dr. Gallagher's house in the presence of nine persons, who comprised the entire Catholic population" of the town. Among the worshipers was "an old lady who had heard Mass before but once in eight years." The Bishop was informed that "the Episcopal minister had announced from his pulpit on Sunday that I would preach to-night, but I am compelled to leave in order to meet the boat in time to reach Plymouth."

He jotted down in his journal the following accounts

of his visit to the last named town and his subsequent movements:

"Nov. 27. Last evening we reached Plymouth, a distance of 35 miles from Washington. We were hospitably entertained by Capt. McNamara, who had preserved the church at Newbern from destruction. . . . This morning I said mass at Capt. McNamara's. After breakfast Father Northrop and I drove out about five miles in the country to Mr. Isaac Swift's house, where I baptized and confirmed that gentleman. He was once a rich planter. He is now his own wood-cutter. I started to pursue the journey twelve miles further for the purpose of visiting a Catholic family, but the vehicle broke down and we were obliged to return. . . . We reached Edenton tonight by steamer across the Sound, 20 miles from Plymouth.

"30. . . . At night preached to a large congregation, chiefly of Protestants. St. Ann's Church is an imposing brick building, the finest Catholic Church in the state, about 35 x 58. . . . The Catholics of Edenton and vicinity number 18, about half of whom are converts. They are anxious to have a priest residing among them, who would make Edenton his centre and attend from it the neighbouring missions. They expressed a willingness to give him a competent salary. I hope that Providence will soon enable me to gratify their wishes. Meantime, I promised to ask Father O'Keefe to send them, if possible, a priest once a month.

"Dec. 2. . . . Reached Littleton about 12 M. Found in the woods a family of Catholics named Divine, consisting of both parents and ten children, two of whom are married in the neighborhood. The father had not seen a Bishop before for 36 years. His wife is a North Carolinian and a convert. This man's vigilance and the religious education of his children are truly edifying.

The same evening we went six miles further to visit two Catholic families named Madden. Whole distance travelled today, 66 miles.

"7. Arrived in Tarboro, about 50 miles from Halifax. . . . I preached in the courthouse in the morning and evening on Sunday to a large audience. The most intelligent citizens of the town were present, including three judges, one of whom is a former United States senator.

"8. Reached Wilson, about 41 miles from Tarboro. . . . I preached tonight in the courthouse to a respectable congregation. A movement is also being made here for the erection of a church. Many Protestants have promised to subscribe.

"11. Arrived this evening at Raleigh. Wm. Grimes, Esq., was awaiting our arrival at the depot and drove us to his splendid dwelling.

"14. Saturday I preached in the morning and again in the evening to an overflowing congregation. The members of the legislature, now in session, attended in large numbers.

"16. Preached again in Raleigh tonight and promised to send books to the Attorney General, who desires to learn more of the Church, with the view of becoming a Catholic.

"17. Arrived in Wilmington tonight after an absence of four weeks. The following is a brief summary of our travel and its results: Number of miles travelled by rail, stage and steamboat, 925; number of towns and stations visited, 16; number of Catholics in various places, 400; converts confirmed, 16; total number, 64; converts baptized, 10; total number, 16."

While in Raleigh the Bishop wrote to Archbishop Spalding reporting upon his labors of the first six weeks in his new field. This was the letter:

"Raleigh, N. C.,
"December 15, 1868.

"Most Rev. Dear Archbishop:

"After a long and arduous campaign of four weeks and before returning to Wilmington, I thought a few lines would be interesting to you, giving you an account of our present status and future prospects.

"You will rejoice to hear that I have been received everywhere, both by Protestants and Catholics, with cordial welcome. Providence seems to have favored us specially by placing in each town some chosen spirits who take care of Father Northrop and myself, and who take an active interest in the welfare of the Church.

"In four or five places the people are clamoring for churches, the public generally, irrespective of religion, expressing a willingness to contribute. Some, it is true, are influenced in this respect by the selfish motive of inviting immigrants, others by a spirit of inquiry, American fair play, and by an entire estrangement from the sects which surround them. The Catholics, of course, have a higher motive.

"The people seem very desirous of hearing a Catholic priest or Bishop. Wherever I have preached, whether in churches or courthouses, there were always, without exception, crowded houses and the greatest attention was manifested. I hope curiosity was not the only motive. Even intelligent people are strangely ignorant of our faith. One gentleman gave me a very curious definition of the word 'Catholic,' but he was modest enough to ask for information.

"I have spent four weeks in travelling through Father Northrop's mission and am not done yet. Our life is extremely varied. Sometimes we have to share the same room and the same bed, to see the daylight through many a crevice and to live on corn bread. But more frequently we enjoy all the luxuries of the season. I shall not soon

forget the kind hospitality of Judge Manly, of Newbern, of Col. Moore, of Edenton, and of numerous others on the route. The universal Irish race is, of course, everywhere represented and they are always defenders of the faith. . . .

"Here in Raleigh we have received every mark of respect. The proprietor of the hotel—a Protestant—had rooms prepared for us, but they were not needed. Wm. Grimes, Esq., was waiting for us at the depot in his carriage. He drove us to his magnificent dwelling in the suburbs. Mrs. Grimes is a Catholic and I am happy to say that he is not far from the Kingdom of God. . . .

"Yesterday I preached twice in the Catholic Church to crowded houses. The legislature, now in session, turned out en masse. . . .

"Yours in Christ,

"JAMES GIBBONS."

The need of money to carry on the work was pressing and help from the Propaganda was welcome. On December 18 the Bishop made this entry in his journal:

"During my visitation in the early part of this month, I received a draft for 1600 francs from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, with a statement that 8000 francs have been allowed me for 1868, the balance payable at some future time."

There were many indications of the post-bellum poverty of the people, as will be seen in some of the following entries:

"Dec. 23. Wrote to Rock Hill Academy, Md., asking the Brother Director to admit a son of Dr. —— to that institution, payment to be made next year on condition that the crops will be successful.

"Jan. 24 [1869]. The regulations to be observed during Lent, which I issued today, are the same as those of Baltimore, except that milk is allowed in this vicariate, owing to the scarcity of tea and coffee in certain sections of the State.

"Feb. 22. In reply to a circular from Bishop Moore, recommending a general subscription in behalf of the American College (at Rome), I submitted to his Lordship the impoverished condition of the State and the smallness of the Catholic population, expressing my regret at not being able to contribute to the fund."

The entries continue:

"June 2. Visited Lillington, New Hanover County and preached at night in the Masonic Hall.

"July 11. Today I installed Rev. J. V. McNamara, pastor of St. John's Church, Raleigh, at High Mass, in the presence of a very large and respectable congregation. . . . The governor, chief justice, several of the associate judges, and many other prominent citizens were present.

"Aug. 1. This morning (Sunday) Father O'Connell and I, accompanied by a large number of people, went to Concord by special train, where I dedicated the new church under the invocation of St. James the Apostle. The Catholic population connected with Concord numbers about sixty souls, all converts, with one exception.

"3. Last night I preached in the town hall (at Salisbury) and at the end spoke to the audience on the importance of having a Catholic Church in their midst. . . . Yesterday morning I said Mass in Miss Fisher's house in the presence of the Catholics of the town and confirmed six adults, of whom one is a convert.

"5. Reached Morgantown, about 80 miles from Salisbury. We could discover in this town only three Catholics. One of these, Mr. McGraw, has ten children, all

Protestants, a sad instance of the result of mixed marriages. . . .

"6. By private conveyance we arrived this evening at Moore's, McDowell County. We travelled over a beautiful mountain country. The scenery about Moore's is sublime and the climate invigorating.

"8. Yesterday we arrived at Mr. Malone's, near Old Fort, fifteen miles from Moore's. I preached in the evening in the rear of Mr. Malone's house in the presence of a considerable number of persons. . . . Yesterday morning we observed the total eclipse of the sun from the Blue Ridge.

"12. We arrived in Asheville on the evening of the 9th after travelling on horseback 24 miles. . . . I have authorized Rev. Jeremiah O'Connell to appeal at once to the citizens of Asheville for subscriptions and to commence the erection of a brick church.

"15. Preached this evening in the Courthouse of Asheville."

The next day the Bishop returned to Wilmington, having completed his second episcopal tour in the State, in the course of which he had travelled 985 miles and confirmed 106 persons.

In his trip to Salisbury mentioned in his journal the Bishop was the guest of the family of Miss Fisher, who had visited him in Baltimore to receive instruction in the faith. Of that occasion she wrote:

"Among the memories of the time, the most vivid is of his first visit to Salisbury, one of the oldest colonial towns in the state, yet which contained hardly more than a dozen Catholics. There was no (Catholic) church in the place—churches were few and far between in North Carolina in those days—and like many priests who

came, the Bishop said Mass in the drawing room of the private house in which he was entertained and there administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to men and women, grown to maturity, who had never before seen a Bishop of their Church. How clearly memory recalls him on this visit and others which followed—the slender form, the pale, ascetic face, the manner full of kindness and the unfailing suavity!"

Prolonged exposure in a furious storm on one of his trips came near costing the precious life of the young Vicar Apostolic. This expedition was to Newton Grove, nearly one hundred miles from Wilmington, in a region of almost primeval wildness, where the most remarkable of all the missions which he was instrumental in developing in North Carolina sprang up. His own account of the origin of this mission and of his hazardous journey was:

"While I was absent in Europe at the Vatican Council, in 1870, a letter came through the post addressed 'To any Catholic Priest of Wilmington, N. C.' Father Gross received the letter, which was one of inquiry about the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and from Dr. J. C. Monk. A correspondence was opened between us after my return from Rome. I recommended certain Catholic books. Dr. Monk procured these, and, having more fully instructed himself and his family in the faith, he and his household were all received into the Church. He came to Wilmington to make a profession of faith. I baptized the family and learned, with the deepest interest, of the circumstances that had led to his conversion and of his hopes in regard to the community in which he had lived all his life as a prominent physician.

"This was a remarkable conversion. The finger of God

was here. Nor was the conversion to be barren of results. Dr. Monk returned home, after receiving my promise of a visit to his family. In due time Father Gross visited Newton Grove, and to a great throng in the open air preached on the true faith. From that time an earnest inquiry into the tenets of the Catholic Church sprang up among the people.

"Dr. Monk was a providential man for the diffusion of the faith. He was highly respected, and as a physician had access to every family in all that region. His zeal to enlighten the people was surpassed only by his solid piety and good example. Possessed of means, he liberally aided in every way the spread of the faith.

"A few months later I redeemed my promise of a visit to Newton Grove. The trip came near imperiling my life. I remember it was the month of March. The day of my departure opened with difficulties. The railway train left very early in the morning. Rising at 4 o'clock, I found the weather cold and rainy. The carriage failing to call for me, I was compelled, with the help of a boy, to carry my large, heavy valise, packed with mission articles, the distance of a mile to the depot. As I traveled northward, the rain became a furious storm of sleet and snow. Reaching the station, I found the brother of Dr. Monk, who had come to meet me, on horseback, with ax in hand, to cut our way through the forests. The sleet and snow had covered the country and bound to earth, in many places across our course, the pine saplings that grew in dense bodies up to the margin of the road. A neighbor was with him to take me in his buggy.

"We started. It was a journey to be remembered—a trip of twenty-one miles in the teeth of wind, rain, sleet and snow. After a short exposure, I was all but frozen by the violence of the storm and the intense cold. We had ridden a number of miles, when, to my delight, my friend drew rein at his own house. I entered the hos-

pitable door, and the change was most grateful—from cold and misery to warmth and comfort.

"In a few moments the housewife had brought in a hot bath for my frozen feet, and the husband a supplement in the way of a hot drink. The generous hospitality restored, in a very short time, my almost perished frame. They were both strangers, but the closest friends could not have treated me more kindly. I remained for dinner, and, as the weather had become clear, we proceeded on our journey.

"The next morning being Sunday, I celebrated Mass in Dr. Monk's house, and preached there later in the day to an earnest audience. The religious interest was profound. It promised to become, as it truly did, a movement of the whole district toward the Catholic Church.

"Regular appointments were made for a visit by a priest, and in a short time the brother of Dr. Monk, with his family, embraced the Catholic faith. The congregations that met on the occasions of the priest's visits to Newton Grove were so large that it became necessary to erect a temporary structure of rough boards for their accommodation. This tabernacle answered admirably for the services, which were arranged to suit the primitive state of affairs in that section. The priest appeared on the rostrum in his secular dress, and, after prayer and reading of the Scriptures, delivered a long instruction on the Catholic Church or some one of its doctrines. The preaching, directed at the conversion of the people, was necessarily simple in its character, historical and didactic. Catechisms and books of instruction were freely distributed after the sermons. An attractive feature of these services was the singing, by select voices, of beautiful hymns.

"The Catholic movement daily gathered strength by the accession of many of the most respectable families in the vicinity. Within a short time the number of con-

versions [12] warranted the erection of a church and schoolhouse. On their completion, this apostolic mission became firmly established and continues to prosper." [13]

Another church sprang up from a visit by a priest to three Irish brothers, peddlers, who had settled eighty miles from a church. Their families were baptized, and conversions among the country folk multiplied. In a short time a flourishing parish was established.

A missionary found at Chinquepin, a village far in the recesses of the North Carolina pines, an old Irish woman who had not seen a priest in forty-five years. She said that her faith was still as fresh as her native sod, and that she had never omitted her prayers. A congregation of converts was founded, for whom a chapel and a school were subsequently erected.

Among the congregation at Newbern, of which Father Northrop was in charge, was Judge Mathias Manly, son-in-law of Judge Gaston, the most conspicuous Catholic whom North Carolina had produced. Judge Gaston had been a leader of the Constitutional Convention of 1865, which, chiefly in response to his eloquent pleas, abolished the restrictions that had prevented Catholics from holding certain important offices of trust and established full religious liberty in that State.

Father O'Connell's church was in the flourishing city of Charlotte. That priest, whom the Bishop appointed as his Vicar General, had served as a Confederate chaplain and after the war had taken up missionary work in Charlotte and the district roundabout.

[12] The number of conversions was 300.
[13] Reminiscences of Cardinal Gibbons read before the United States Catholic Historical Society in New York.

The Bishop's journal contains no entry from September 20, 1869, to October 4, 1870, owing to his attendance at the Ecumenical Council in Rome. In his absence improvements to St. Thomas' Church, in Wilmington, were completed. He thus described them on his return:

"The Church has been enlarged and much improved. The enlargement of the building has been 24 x 40 feet, the principal part of which forms my present commodious dwelling. Total cost, including Russell's lot, enlargement and improvement of church, marble altar and paintings—$7000."

The Bishop set out in November, 1870, for a second trip over the eastern part of the State, visiting many towns. Conversions were still numerous. In his journal, under date of November 30, he wrote:

"A certain Irish Catholic in Plymouth was induced to join the Baptists. Immersed, he was invited to say prayer. He gave out, 'Hail, Holy Queen!' The astonishment of the audience was immense. He has since returned to the Church."

Further contributions from the Propaganda were noted. The Bishop wrote July 13, 1871, that he had returned from the diocese of Albany, where he went to collect funds.

In August, 1871, he started on a visitation to the western part of the State. From the town of Company Shops to Greensboro he was "conveyed on a freight engine." At Gaston he found a congregation of 80, where there had been but 36 on his first visit, two years before. At Lincolnton he "preached to a large audience in the courthouse, the people being, no doubt, moved by some

curiosity to see the first Bishop who was ever present in that town." He found that a handsome church had been erected by this time at Asheville, which he dedicated September 24, preaching on "Charity."

Entries of this kind multiply in the journal, which forms a concise record of apostolic activity that must have taxed the Bishop's energies to the utmost.

Bishop Gibbons recognized that schools were one of the greatest necessities of the stricken South and a potent means of propagating religion. Of his persistent efforts to cooperate in the educational development of North Carolina, Father Gross wrote:

"We can testify to his self-sacrificing zeal for the establishment of Catholic schools throughout the vicariate under stress of direst poverty and in most adverse surroundings. To this end he not only sacrificed money and time and labor in begging money but descended to teach himself daily a class in the parochial school to help and encourage the priests whose services for the want of lay teachers had to be gratuitously engaged." [14]

With poverty on every hand and the long train of ills that come with it, Bishop Gibbons had realized before he left Baltimore that the work of the Sisters of Mercy was greatly needed in his vicariate. Less than a week after he had been installed he made this entry in his journal:

"Wrote to Rev. Francis MacCormack [15] at Westport in reference to the Sisters of Mercy, whom I desire to see established in Wilmington at an early day."

[14] The Rev. Mark S. Gross in the *Carmelite Review*, May, 1895.
[15] This was his former schoolmate in Ireland, afterwards Bishop of Galway.

Within a year the indefatigable Bishop had raised the money with which to buy ample quarters in Wilmington for the Sisters of Mercy, a group of whom he brought from the mother house in Charleston. He installed them in the Peyton mansion, an old-fashioned Southern home which he had purchased for $16,000—a fortune in Carolina in those days. The people wondered whence the money had come. Only a small part of it had been raised in the vicariate, the Bishop having obtained most of the sum in the course of several visits to the Northern States. He raised more than $5,000 in Albany alone. The Sisters founded schools at Charlotte and Hickory as well as at Wilmington.

One of the most important steps that marked the Bishop's administration was the establishment of Mary Help Abbey by the Benedictine order at Belmont, near Charlotte. The Rev. J. J. O'Connell gave for this purpose his estate of 500 acres. Although the field seemed far from favorable, application was made to Arch Abbot Wimmer, of St. Vincent's Abbey, Pennsylvania, to supply a colony for the vicariate. A similar petition from a far more promising quarter was presented to the Abbot at the same time but he chose North Carolina and the Rev. Herman Wolf, who had been a Lutheran minister, was sent to Belmont as prior.

For a time it seemed that Arch Abbot Wimmer's apostolic zeal had outweighed his judgment. Temporary shelter for the fathers was obtained in a frame tavern, a hundred years old, of revolutionary celebrity, and they began their work with their customary thoroughness, but

the outlook continued to be so discouraging that the abandonment of the priory was debated in the chapter of the Abbey in Pennsylvania. While the decision on this point wavered a number of young Benedictines volunteered to go to Belmont if allowed to take with them an Abbot of their own selection. Their offer was accepted and they chose the Rev. Leo Haid as their leader in the undertaking.[18] With his administration marked progress began. A group of handsome and ample buildings was erected and St. Mary's College was launched as one of the successful educational institutions of the South, a training school for native Southern clergy so much needed in the work of the Church.

Indeed, one of Bishop Gibbons' chief obstacles had been to obtain the services of a sufficient number of priests to keep pace with the congregations and institutions which he founded. Before he left Baltimore he had realized his possible difficulties in this respect, as the following entries in his journal for 1868 show:

"Sep. 25. Daniel Driscoll, of Taunton, Mass., 18 years old; Patrick Moore, of Connecticut, 20 years old and John P. Doyle, of Kentucky, 17 years old, have promised in the presence of their confessor to devote themselves to my diocese. They are now studying at St. Charles College. I have promised to raise the money necessary for their education and support, if other means fail.

"Oct. 10. Mr. Hands, heretofore of the diocese of Hartford, has attached himself to the vicariate apostolic

[18] Abbott Haid afterwards became Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina and titular Bishop of Messene, being consecrated by Cardinal Gibbons, July 1, 1888.

of North Carolina. He commenced theology this year." [17]

The spiritual rewards which these young soldiers of the Cross might obtain were the only incentives to their zeal. Not only was the work to which they devoted themselves full of obstacles, but they were altogether unsalaried. As the field was developed and the success of Bishop Gibbons became known in other dioceses, it became less difficult to obtain outside help.

The impressions which Bishop Gibbons received in North Carolina were among the most profound and decisive of his life. Young, ardent and intensely alert to conditions which surrounded him, he formed there definite views and aims from which he never departed. Before he had been sent out as Vicar Apostolic his thoughts had followed, in the main, the normal channels of those of a young priest schooled in the repressive discipline of the seminary and thrust into the active labors of a parish, where he saw few persons not of his own faith. In the vicariate, overwhelmingly Protestant in population, he was confronted with obstacles which brought out all his resourcefulness, forcing him to choose between timidity and daring. To have subsided into a routine of ministering faithfully to the handful of Catholics in the State and such others as might fall to his spiritual care by the ordinary processes of accretion was an attitude of mind of which he was incapable. He could never accept even partial defeat in a cause that enlisted his sympathies to the full. If the Church in North Carolina were to grow

[17] These two early entries in the Bishop's journal were made in Latin, which he abandoned as being too cumbersome, and nearly all the others are in English.

with strong vitality, the growth must be among non-Catholics, even for the most part among people in communities where the Catholic Church was distrusted and shunned with the force of misunderstandings that were generations old. His problem was to overcome a mass prejudice or allow it to nullify his best efforts. Only by conquering it could he lay a foundation for the rapid spread of his own faith.

Thus by simple force of circumstances he came to study the non-Catholic viewpoint in order that he might make his appeal with hopefulness. He conceded to well-disposed persons not of his faith a desire equal to his own for the truths of Christianity. In all works inspired by the brotherhood of man, he maintained cordial contact and cooperation with them. He was not less a Catholic when he left North Carolina than when he went there. In fact, it seems that the foundations of his belief had been strengthened by opposition; but he had acquired a broad charity, a wide horizon of view, from which he never separated himself in later life and which stamped him preeminently as a friend of men of other creeds. Impressions gained in country towns and secluded rural homes were felt later in the Vatican itself.

CHAPTER VI

YOUNGEST IN THE VATICAN COUNCIL

The call of the Church went out to Bishop Gibbons summoning him to Rome from his mission field among the primitive solitudes of the mountains and the peace of the sparsely populated valleys of North Carolina. It went out equally to the Bishops on the further waters of the Yangtse Kiang, in the morasses of Central Africa and wherever throughout the world the Hierarchy had spread from the seat of Peter. For the first time since the Council of Trent, 300 years before, there was to be an ecumenical assembly of the Church, and all the Bishops were convoked to deliberate in the providence of God upon the welfare of the souls of men.

Gibbons had served his vicariate scarcely a year when the convening of the Vatican Council wrought this transformation in the background of his life and labor, one of the most striking that could come to any man. The lone missionary traveler of the hills was now to sit in the most august assemblage which the world sees, with an equal voice in its decisions that would carry the full weight of spiritual authority over 250,000,000 Catholics. From an atmosphere of deep-seated mistrust of Catholic doctrine, he was shifted into the most exalted tribunal for the expression of that doctrine. Both experiences sank

deep into his receptive mind and both served to strengthen his preparation for the leadership which lay almost at his feet.

For American Catholics the Council of the Vatican had a meaning which they had not known. When the Bishops sat at Trent, America had been discovered only a short time and not all of them were sure that it was not a part of the mysterious Indies. So secure was the Papacy in its political power that Alexander VI had but recently issued his Bull of Demarcation giving to Portugal all of the newly discovered lands east of a line 100 leagues west of the Azores and to Spain all to the westward. America had no episcopate and only a few adventurous priests had gone forth as messengers of the faith to the unknown peoples scattered over its vast area. Now it was the home of many millions of Catholics, and the Pontiffs were beginning to see in its future the Church's brightest hope for the expansion of her spiritual influence. Of the 737 members who sat in the Vatican Council 113 were from North and South America.

There had been, too, an immense development of the Catholic faith among the English-speaking peoples. In the Council of Trent England was represented by one prelate and Ireland by three; there was no Bishop from Scotland. The English-speaking episcopate at the Vatican Council marshaled a strength of more than 120 members, assembled from the United States and Canada, England, Ireland and Scotland, Oceania, the Indies and Africa. Bishop Gibbons later hazarded the prediction that "at the next Ecumenical Council, if held within a hundred years, the representatives of the English lan-

guage will equal, if they do not surpass, in number those of any other tongue." [1]

In the overshadowing issue of the Vatican Council the English-speaking Bishops had an especial concern, because their work was among predominantly Protestant populations. That issue was the declaration of the doctrine of the infallible teaching office of the Roman Pontiffs. The American Bishops did not question the truth of the doctrine; they unalterably adhered to it in both belief and practise. Some of them could not see, however, any use in defining it at that time and were strongly of the opinion that it would raise another barrier between them and the Protestants when their Church was at last piercing the clouds of misrepresentation which had darkened her pathway so long.

True, the doctrine sought to be defined was very different from a declaration of personal infallibility on any or all subjects, but the American Bishops regarded with misgivings the prospect that non-Catholics would understand it in that light. In outline it was that the Pontiff, when speaking in the exercise of his office as the shepherd of all Christians, and declaring a doctrine of faith and morals to be held by the Universal Church, was infallible.

The chief obstacle to the spread of the Catholic Church in the United States had been the impression that she was subject to foreign control. Enlightened Americans of Protestant ancestry could not wholly reconcile themselves to Papal supremacy of a universal Church. It did not convince them to be informed that the definition

[1] "Personal Reminiscences of the Vatican Council," Cardinal Gibbons in the *North American Review* for April, 1894.

of the dogma was merely an expression of a belief and tradition long held and that it was without bearing upon civil government.

From the time of Henry VIII this had been a subject which had aroused English Protestants to defiant denial. Sovereigns in their coronation oaths at Westminster had abjured it as a heresy. In continental Europe, whence came the chief support of the movement to declare the doctrine, it had been accepted so long in its true meaning that the question appeared there in a different light from that in which it presented itself to English-speaking churchmen.

Only two of the Cardinals whom Pius IX consulted in December, 1864, when he first announced that he had been deliberating regarding an Ecumenical Council, spoke of Papal infallibility. A few alluded to the preservation of the Papacy as a temporal power, then supported by troops of Napoleon III in the midst of Italian hostility. Nearly all of the Cardinals, however, strongly advised that a Council be convoked. They declared it to be their opinion that the especial characteristic of the time was a tendency to overthrow the ancient Christian institutions founded upon a supernatural principle and to erect a new order, based upon natural reason alone. The Cardinals dwelt upon the need of amending the discipline of the Church, untouched for three hundred years; of better provision for the education of the clergy and the government of monastic orders, and for bringing the laity to a more general obedience to ecclesiastical laws.

Pius deliberated long before finally deciding to convoke the Council. The bull of indiction was dated June

29, 1868, and the tremendous work of preparing in detail for the labors of the gathering began. It was to be an "extraordinary remedy for the extraordinary evils of the Christian world." [2]

Bishop Gibbons sailed from Baltimore in the company of Archbishop Spalding and other American prelates in October, 1869.[3] He said of his association with his friend and patron in the course of that journey:

"I was his inseparable companion in our voyage across the Atlantic, during our sojourn in England, in France, in Italy and in Rome. For ten months we sat at the same table and slept under the same roof."

What emotions swept the imagination of the young Bishop as he beheld for the first time the Eternal City, the chosen seat of the successors of Peter! Ardor tinged his view as he gazed upon the storied Vatican, in whose basilica he was to sit with the fathers of the Church from every quarter of the globe. The experiences which befell him in the crowds that flocked to Rome during the sessions of the Council fascinated and stimulated him. He wrote:

"At the close of the first solemn session the prelates passed out from the Council chamber into St. Peter's Church, and mingled with the crowd of some 50,000 spectators. In advancing toward the front door of St. Peter's, I became separated from Archbishop Spalding, who always favored me with a seat in his carriage. I was as much bewildered as a stranger would be in a London fog, and as I was utterly unacquainted with the surroundings, I did not attempt to find my way to the car-

[2] Cardinal Manning, *True Story of the Vatican Council.*
[3] *Catholic Mirror,* October 23, 1869.

riage which was awaiting us in one of the many courts of the Vatican. The rain was pouring in torrents, a carriage could not be secured at any price, and, encumbered as I was with the impedimenta of cope and mitre, a journey on foot to the American College, a mile or more away, was out of the question.

"I applied in vain to the occupants of several carriages, but all the seats were engaged. At last, when it was growing dark, a solitary carriage remained on the piazza, occupied by a Bishop. It was my last chance. I requested him to give me a seat, and explained my helpless condition, speaking to him in French, as that was the most popular language among the prelates.

"The Bishop looked at me with a good-humored smile, which seemed to say: 'I think you understand English quite as well as French.' And then he replied to me in English: 'The carriage, my lord, is engaged for five of us, but we cannot leave you stranded. We must make room for you.' Rarely did our English tongue sound so sweet in my ears, and seldom was an act of kindness more gratefully accepted. My good Samaritan proved to be a Bishop from the wilds of Australia." [4]

The oldest Bishop who sat in the Council was in his eighty-fifth year, while the age of Gibbons, the youngest, was just half a century less. He became the last survivor of that memorable gathering. "My youth and inexperience," he wrote, "imposed upon me a discreet silence among my elders. I do not remember to have missed a single session and was an attentive listener at all the debates."

When he arrived in Rome it appeared that the question of Papal infallibility was not likely to come before

[4] "Personal Reminiscences of the Vatican Council," Cardinal Gibbons in the *North American Review*, April, 1894.

the Council. The commission which had framed the *schemata*, or list of topics to be considered, had agreed with but one dissenting voice that the subject ought not to be proposed for decision unless there was a demand from the Bishops for action on it. Nevertheless, a majority of the American prelates saw with dismay a rapidly growing sentiment in favor of bringing up the question; and at length 450 of the Council's members, a considerable majority, signed a petition for its consideration addressed to the Commission on Postulates or Propositions, which could introduce new subjects into the *schemata*.

About 100, including many of the Americans, signed a counter-petition, but it became clearly evident that it was more difficult to marshal influence on that side of the question. The Americans had a consultation at their college in Rome and a large majority of them declared that it would be inexpedient to propose the definition of the doctrine. Bishop Gibbons, on account of his youth, did not feel justified in expressing any opinion in the formal discussions.

The view of the Americans was that as the whole episcopate, the priesthood and the faithful with few exceptions had received with veneration and docility the doctrinal decisions of the Pontiffs, no necessity for such a definition existed. A learned theologian who expressed their opinion wrote:

"Let that suffice which has already been declared and has been believed by all, that the Church, whether congregated in Council or dispersed throughout the world, is always infallible, and the Supreme Pontiff, according to the words of the Council of Florence, is the teacher of

the whole Church and of all Christians. But as to the mysterious gift of infallibility which, by God, is bestowed upon the episcopate united to the Pope, and at the same time is bestowed in a special manner on the Supreme Pontiff, it may be left as it is. The Church, as all Catholics believe, whether in an Ecumenical Council or by the Pope alone without a Council, defines and explains the truth of revelation. It is not expedient or opportune to make further declarations unless a proved necessity demands it, which necessity at present does not appear to exist."

The American view could rest only on the question of opportuneness, for one of the effective arguments used by the advocates of the doctrine of infallibility was the declaration on the subject by the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, of which Gibbons had been the assistant chancellor. That declaration was cited early in the discussions, being embraced in an appendix to the petition of Bishops addressed to the commission on Postulates or Propositions. It was:

"The living and infallible authority flourishes in that Church alone which was built by Christ upon Peter, who is the head, leader and pastor of the whole Church, whose faith Christ promised should never fail; which ever had legitimate Pontiffs, dating their origin in unbroken line from Peter himself, being seated in his chair and being the inheritors and defenders of the like doctrine, dignity, office and power. And because where Peter is, there also is the Church, and because Peter speaks in the person of the Roman Pontiff, ever lives in his successors, passes judgment and makes known the truths of faith to those who seek them, therefore are the Divine declarations to be received in the manner in which they have been and

are held by this Roman See of Blessed Peter, that mother and teacher of all churches, which has ever preserved whole the teachings delivered by Christ, and which has taught the faithful, showing to all men the paths of salvation and the doctrine of everlasting truth." [5]

Bishop Gibbons, despite his own views on the question of opportuneness, was profoundly impressed, as he wrote, by the "fearless and serene conduct of the great majority, who, spurning a temporizing policy and the dictates of human prudence, were deterred neither by specious arguments nor imperial threats nor by the fear of schism from promulgating what they conceived to be a truth contained in the deposit of divine revelation."

Those who demanded the definition declared that nothing which was true could be said to be inopportune. Had not God revealed it? they asked, and could it be permitted to think that what He had thought it opportune to reveal it was not opportune to declare? In the minds of objectors, "opportune" must refer to something of a political or diplomatic character, some calculation of expediency relating to peoples or governments. This caution would be proper for legislative bodies or cabinets debating public questions of a secular nature; but the Church deals with the truths of revelation, and it is at all times opportune for her to declare what God has willed that man should know. It had been said that many revealed truths were not defined. This was true and would be a strong argument if the truth had never been denied. The infallibility of the Roman Pontiff having been denied, its definition became necessary. Some

[5] Acta et Decreta, Conc. Plen. II, Baltimore.

persons, in order to throw doubt upon the doctrine or to prove it false, represented the denial of it to be ancient and widespread. This increased the need of declaring it by an authoritative decree. Protestants would say: "If you are not doubtful, why do you hesitate to declare it?" Antagonists hoped to find objection among Catholics in order to gain leverage for an opinion that the Church was not really united and therefore not the authoritative custodian of the deposit of Divine truth.

All Catholics, it was set forth by the supporters of the definition, believed that the Church, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, was infallible. If it were left open to doubt whether the teaching of the head of the Church were true, those who believed that he might err could always contradict it. The Church during eighteen centuries had done many acts of supreme importance by its head alone. Were these acts fallible or infallible? The question had been formally raised and, for the sake of Divine truth, it was contended, must be as formally solved.

Bishop Gibbons set down succinctly the alignments of view on this subject in a diary of the Council which he kept. He wrote:

"The difference of opinion that existed among the Bishops on the subject of infallibility is known throughout the four quarters of the globe. What was the cause of it? If anyone imagines that all who joined in opposing a definition from the outset were actuated by the same motives he would certainly be wide of the mark. While the main point of the controversy was held by the ultramontanes without exception and there was but the one question as to the formula to be used, the opposition,

as they were generally called, taken altogether, had no fixed principle of accord, save an agreement to disagree with the defining of the doctrine as of faith. To analyze the constituent parts of this body, we shall class them according to ideas.

"The first class comprised those who, believing the doctrine themselves, or at least favoring it speculatively, did not think it capable of definition, not deeming the tradition of the Church clear enough on this point.

"The second class, the most numerous, regarded the definition as possible, but practically fraught with peril to the Church, as impeding conversions, as exasperating to governments. For the sake of peace and for the good of souls, they would not see it proclaimed as of faith.

"All of these dissident prelates, we are bound to say, acted with conscientious conviction of the justice of the cause they defended. They were bound in conscience to declare their opinions and to make them prevail by all lawful influences." [6]

The young American prelate was also greatly impressed by the freedom of discussion which prevailed and which produced in his mind a deep realization of the democracy of the Church. He wrote in his diary:

"If on one side or the other of this most important and vital question anyone went beyond the limits of moderation or used means not dictated by prudence or charity, it is nothing more than might have been expected in so large a number of persons of such varied character and education. Instead of being shocked at the little occurrences of this nature, we should rather be struck with admiration for the self-restraint and affability which

[6] Bishop Gibbons in conjunction with Bishop Lynch of Charleston, S. C., prepared a series of articles based upon this diary which were published in the *Catholic World* at the time of the Council's sessions and republished in his *Retrospect of Fifty Years*.

were shown, despite the intensity of feeling and strength of conviction. In a word, that the Council of the Vatican did not break up many months ago in disorder and irreconcilable enmity[7] is because it was God's work and not man's. It is because charity ruled in it in spite of defects."

Expressing nearly a quarter of a century later[8] his views on the same aspect of the Council's work, Gibbons wrote:

"The most ample liberty of discussion prevailed in the Council. This freedom the Holy Father pledged at the opening synod and the pledge was religiously kept. I can safely say that neither in the British House of Commons nor in the French Chambers nor in the German Reichstag nor in the American Congress would wider liberty of debate be tolerated than was granted in the Vatican Council.

"The presiding Cardinal exhibited a courtesy of manner and forbearance even in the heat of debate that were worthy of all praise. I don't think that he called a speaker to order more than a dozen times during the eighty-nine sessions, and then only in deference to the dissenting murmurs or demands of some Bishops. A prelate representing the smallest diocese had the same rights that were accorded to the highest dignitary in the Chamber. . . .

"I well remember how during and after the Council a good many writers in the public press affected to be shocked and filled with virtuous indignation that there should be an outburst of feeling or even any display of parliamentary contention in a council of Catholic Bishops. . . . Had the deliberations been carried on in a

[7] This passage was written a short time before the close of the Council.
[8] Cardinal Gibbons in the *North American Review* for April, 1894.

humdrum style without criticism or opposition on the part of the minority, the outcry against the Council would have been all the louder. Then it would have been charged with a fair show of reason that there was no spirit or manhood among the fathers, that they were so many figure-heads ready to bow at the nod of the Pope.

"The Bishops were men with human feelings. They were freemen fettered by no compact, bound by no caucus, filled with a profound sense of responsibility to God and their consciences. They were discussing questions not of a political or transitory nature, but questions of faith and morals. . . .

"Every great Council of the Catholic Church has been marked by an intense earnestness of debate. There was not only discussion but 'much disputing' in the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem. . . .

"I have listened in the Council chamber to far more subtle, more plausible and more searching objections against this prerogative of the Pope [the infallible teaching office] than I have ever read or heard from the pen or tongue of the most learned and formidable Protestant assailant. But all the objections were triumphantly answered. . . . Since the last vote was taken in the solemn session of July 18, 1870, all the Bishops of Christendom, without a murmur of dissent, have accepted the decision as final and irrevocable."

One of the American prelates, Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, was "violently opposed to the definition, not only because of what he considered its inopportuneness, but because he did not see that it was part of the deposit of faith"; but as soon as it was promulgated, he fully accepted it. Many years later some one spoke in criticism of his attitude in the Council to Leo XIII, who had then become Pope, to which Leo replied with spirit:

"The Metropolitan of St. Louis was a noble man and a true Christian Bishop. When he sat in Council as a judge of the faith he did according to his conscience and the moment the decision was taken, although it was against him, he submitted with the filial piety of a Catholic Christian." [9]

None claimed personal infallibility for the Pontiff. In order to exclude the possibility of this interpretation, the title of the Vatican Council's decree was changed from *De Romani Pontificis Infallibilitate* to *De Romani Pontificis Infallibili Magisterio.* It was held to be a Divine assistance inseparable from the office and not a quality inherent in the person of the Pope.

The final form in which the definition was adopted was:

"Therefore, faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of Christian faith, for the glory of God our Savior, the exaltation of the Catholic religion and the salvation of the Christian people, the Sacred Council approving, we teach and define that it is a dogma Divinely revealed: That the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when in the discharge of the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church—is, by the Divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that the Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith and morals; and that, therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not from the consent of the Church."

[9] *Retrospect of Fifty Years,* Vol. I, pp. 32-33.

The chapter on Papal infallibility came to a vote in the Council in July. On the first vote 451 of the fathers answered *placet*, or aye, 88 *non placet*, or no, and 62 *placet juxta modum*, or aye with modifications. Nearly two hundred amendments, some of which were adopted, were offered. When the time came for the final action in public session, 533 voted *placet*, and only 2 *non placet;* fifty-five absented themselves in order to avoid being recorded on the negative side of a question whose decision they considered inopportune; eleven others were absent from unknown causes, and were supposed to have left Rome, as permission had been given several days before to begin the journey homeward.

The two who voted *non placet* were Bishop Fitzgerald, of Little Rock, Arkansas, and the bishop of the Italian Diocese of Caiazzo. They at once made their submission and subscribed to the decree. Bishop Gibbons voted *placet* on the question when it came before the Council.

Nothing need be said here of the monumental work of the Council in dealing with the general doctrinal, disciplinary and social problems that had arisen since Trent. On no question except that of infallibility was there a distinct line of difference between a majority of the Americans and the other fathers who sat with them. It was the one declaration of the gathering which profoundly stirred the external world.

The protection without interference which the Catholic Church and all religious denominations receive in America was now in evidence with a new light thrown upon it. Here there were no political bonds between Church and State which might be affected by the declara-

tion in Rome. No office holder or politician in America had any vestige of authority to meddle in doctrinal definitions which in no way concerned the civil government. There was no *concordat* to be debated in Congress.

Perhaps it is true that in America the spread of the Catholic faith was impeded for a time, but its marvelous development in the closing years of the nineteenth century and since is complete evidence that the declaration of Papal infallibility was not a permanent obstacle to the increase of spiritual results west of the Atlantic. Aggressive anti-Catholicism flared up once or twice but the fears of some American Bishops that the appalling proscriptions of the "Know Nothing" times might be revived proved to be groundless. Every outburst of intolerance in the United States found its strongest corrective in enlightened public opinion. The liberality of the young Vicar of North Carolina who sat in the Vatican Council became ultimately the most powerful factor in this happy state of affairs.

Of the members of that memorable gathering in the Vatican in 1870 it is safe to say that none was more impressed with it than its youngest Bishop, ordained but nine years before, to whom life was still fresh when he was projected into the midst of its wisdom and grandeur and solemnity. He sat in an assembly whose deliberations represented the accumulated experience and weight of an institution whose roots were planted in the beginnings of Christianity and whose development had employed a large proportion of the master minds of the world from Peter to Constantine and down through the ages. The contrast was not lost upon him of this ancient

instrument for the salvation of the world and the newness of his own country, behind which there were then not a hundred years of independence.

Gibbons sat with two men with whom he was to work hand in hand in the great affairs of the Church and the world during a long period of the most decisive ecclesiastical and political evolution in modern times. While he could not realize what either of them would mean to his own life, their personalities impressed him. Of the future Leo XIII, then Cardinal Pecci, he wrote:

"Although Cardinal Pecci did not take part in the public debates of the synod, he was one of its most influential members and the weight of his learning and administrative experience was felt in the committee to which he was appointed."

Later Gibbons expressed the opinion that there was a design of Providence in the fact that he who was to be "elected the head and judge of his brethren in 1878 should not have been involved in their disputations in 1870, but that he should enter his high office joyfully hailed as the harbinger of peace and concord by prelates of every shade of theological opinion."

This was his picture of Manning:

"Dr. Manning's reputation as an English speaker is established wherever the English language prevails. His Latin oration in the Council . . . exhibited the same energy of thought and the same discriminating choice of words which are striking features of his public discourses. Dr. Manning has a commanding figure. His flesh and his face are the personification of asceticism. His sunken eyes pierce you as well as his words. He has a high, well developed forehead, which appears still

more prominent on account of his partial baldness. His favorite, almost his only gesture, is the darting of his forefinger in a sloping direction from his body, which might seem awkward in others but in him is quite natural and gives a peculiar force to his expression. His countenance, even in the heat of argument, remains almost as impassive as a statue.

"He knows admirably well how to employ to the best advantage his voice as well as his words. When he wishes to gain a strong point he rallies his choicest battalion of words, to each of which he assigns a most effective position; while his voice, swelling with the occasion, imparts to them an energy and a power difficult to resist." [10]

Gibbons also wrote that Manning's emaciated form and ceaseless activity suggested a playful remark made to him by Archbishop Spalding: "I know not how your Grace can work so much, for you neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep."

Of the American prelates Gibbons was naturally most interested in Spalding, who was busily engaged as a member of the two most important committees of the Council, but who spoke only once in the course of the sessions.

Of the head of the archdiocese of St. Louis he wrote:

"Archbishop Kenrick spoke Latin with admirable ease and elegance. I observed him day after day reclining in his seat with half closed eyes listening attentively to the debates without taking any notes, and yet so tenacious was his memory that when his turn came to ascend the rostrum he reviewed the speeches of his colleagues with

[10] Bishop Gibbons' *Diary of the Vatican Council.*

remarkable fidelity and precision without the aid of manuscript or memoranda."

Gibbons pronounced Archbishop McCloskey, of New York, who was to become five years later the first American Cardinal, a "silent Solon." He retained throughout his life colorful memories of the entire gathering and of the striking personalities with whom he came in contact. The democracy of the Church he saw strikingly exemplified in Cardinal Prince Schwarzenberg, Primate of Bohemia, and Cardinal Simor, Primate of Hungary, the two most influential churchmen of what was then the Austrian Empire. Schwarzenberg, a handsome man of commanding presence, was a prince of the realm as well as of the Church. Simor sprang from the people and was glad to avow it. He told Bishop Gibbons that he employed four different languages in the government of his diocese—Latin, German, Hungarian and Slavonian.

Next to the young American prelate sat a Vicar Apostolic from China, who used six dialects in his vicariate. One Bishop of a Chinese diocese had traveled twenty-three thousand miles to attend the Council. Several blind Bishops had to be guided by servants as they took their places in the assembly. Some of the feeblest were so exhausted by their travels that they died in Rome or on the way, martyrs to their obedience to duty.

Archbishop Darboy, of Paris, who shared the confidence and expressed the views of Napoleon III, made a deep impression upon the other prelates. He had seen the assassination of two of his predecessors, Archbishops

Affre and Sibour; and in less than a year after the Council adjourned was himself shot to death in the prison of La Roquette amid the ravings of the Commune.[11]

The Council, as the Bishop was careful to set forth in his diary, sought only to preserve the faith of the Church as originally delivered by the Apostles. He wrote:

"The faith of the Church is ever one. . . . The errors or heresies prevailing at any time; the uncertainty in some minds or other needs of a period may render it proper or necessary to give a fuller, clearer and more definite expression of that faith on points controverted or misunderstood. The question always has really been the faith held in the past from the beginning by the Church on these points. . . . It is thus that the Vatican Council takes up matters of faith, not to add to the faith, but to declare it and to establish it when it has been impugned or doubted or misunderstood."

Father Hecker, who expressed the general view of American Catholics, considered that the Vatican Council opened a new outlook, especially for America, the tendency of whose free institutions, he held, was to make men Catholics. The constitution of the Church having been fixed in permanent form and the capstone applied by the definition of Papal infallibility, he declared that in the wide radius left for liberty of thought and action the fullest development of the individual soul should be sought.[12]

[11] Personal Reminiscences of the Vatican Council, Cardinal Gibbons in the *North American Review*, April, 1894.

[12] The Very Rev. Isaac Thomas Hecker, *The Church and the Age*, pp. 12–13.

Now at last Bishop Gibbons had a clear perspective which could not fade from his mind of what the Catholic Church means to the world. In the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore he had seen what it means to the United States. These opportunities come to few men, and to still fewer when they are as young as he was. Five days after the Vatican Council adjourned he passed his thirty-sixth birthday.

As the Council was one of the principal formative experiences of his life, a survey of the impressions which it produced upon him, of the part which the American prelates took in it and of its general outlines is necessary to a comprehension of many conceptions and acts of his subsequent career. He acquired, in the first place, ineffaceable confirmation of what he had learned in the theological seminary, and in his then comparatively brief work as an ecclesiastic, of the unity of faith held by the Church throughout the world. He saw this put to the test in the differences of human opinion voiced with such high ability and so much energy in the debates on the doctrine of Papal infallibility. Then he saw the calming of the troubled waves as if by a miracle in the unanimous adherence to the doctrine when it was once promulgated with authority.

Gibbons also derived from the Council a clear comprehension, which never left him, of what his individual efforts might mean to the Church and to the world. While he maintained the modest attitude which was proper for a junior Bishop, he saw that decisions were reached through the instrumentality of leadership. Forming his views as to the problems that would come

before the Church in the future, he need be second to none of equal rank in influencing decisions.

The young Vicar Apostolic saw still another condition which made a lasting impression upon him. Ties between Church and State, which were then, to the European mind, normal, led sometimes to conditions that negatived what those ties were supposed to mean. Perhaps more was to be feared from Catholic than from non-Catholic sovereigns. Regalism—the interference of Catholic monarchs in the purely internal affairs of the Church—had grown to be an almost insupportable burden. Political pressure hampered the Pontificate in the selection of Bishops, and priests were interfered with almost at the steps of the altar. Private ambition and intrigue beset every step in the adjustment of the direct relations between Church and State in Europe. Ecclesiastical seminaries, basking in the favor of powerful rulers, taught what Rome called heresy.

Threats which kings and statesmen made in attempting to sway the action of the Vatican Council were known in all the chancellories of the world. The Austrian, French and Spanish Cardinals spoke with the weight of a power, which had been allowed them by custom rather than law, of vetoing the election of Popes.[13] The difference between this European background, the result of long historical processes, and the full freedom of the American Bishops in the Council was not lost upon Gibbons.

In the course of his return home in company with

[13] The privilege of exercising this power was forever barred by the Church after the veto of Austria prevented the election of Cardinal Rampolla as the successor of Leo XIII in 1903.

Archbishop Spalding, they paid a visit to the Bishop of Annecy in Savoy. The splendor of the Bishop's palace impressed him. His view of the French prelate's importance was further emphasized by observing a sentinel at the door furnished by the Government as a guard of honor; but the Bishop soon disabused him of his favorable impressions. When Gibbons commented on the honor paid him the Bishop replied:

"Monsignor, all is not gold that glitters. I am not able to build even a sacristy without the permission of the Government."

In the Council Gibbons had an opportunity to gauge the Church's immeasurable influence in the social and material uplifting of humankind. When she speaks upon social justice, the power of her voice radiates far beyond even the wide-sweeping circle of her own faith. She declares her judgment upon questions that profoundly affect labor and capital in order that the distribution of the fruits of the earth may not be carried out in defiance of Divine law. She sets herself against movements, whether in political guise or not, which contradict the principles of Christianity. She speaks on morals and manners, education, the family, amusements and a multitude of other things, the total of which affects the lives of human beings profoundly.

The Vatican Council appealed to Gibbons' imagination, but his was not an imagination that roved in fathomless clouds of unreality. It was of the perceptive kind, which visualized and brought to close range things that seemed obscure and distant to most minds. The Council stirred his inmost soul, but stirred it to deeds rather than

to speculation. Filled with the inspiration of the Council, he returned to his task in North Carolina with a flood of light upon the larger work of the Church which was to guide his footsteps along many a difficult path that would open before him.

CHAPTER VII

BISHOP OF RICHMOND

The road for Bishop Gibbons' rapid journey upward to the leadership of the Church in America soon opened again. The bishopric of Richmond, his second episcopal appointment in four years, was bestowed up him at the age of thirty-seven, when most clerics of parts are scarcely beginning to consider promotion from the ranks as a dim prospect. When that seat was vacated in 1872 by the death of the Right Rev. John McGill, his superiors turned to him with united judgment; and his selection as administrator of the diocese was followed by his permanent appointment by Rome. None hailed his elevation with more delight than Archbishop Spalding, then sinking fast under the burden of years and infirmities, whose urgent recommendation had been given in his favor. Although the Archbishop lived to see his counsel heeded in the nomination of the head of the See, his death prevented the gratification of his fatherly wish to install Gibbons in the new diocese.

The selection of another incumbent for the vicariate of North Carolina presented some difficulties, and it was decided that Bishop Gibbons should continue as administrator there at the same time. The situation of Richmond was favorable to the supervision of both jurisdictions, and it was not doubted that his energy and seem-

GIBBONS AS BISHOP OF RICHMOND

ingly endless resourcefulness would be equal to the double task.

His light could be hidden no longer, for in their association with him at the Vatican Council the chiefs of the Church had not failed to discern the gifts of leadership which he possessed, even though these were partly masked by the self-effacement that characterized him throughout the sessions in Rome. It was impossible for any one, prelate, priest or layman, who might come in contact with him then or at any future time, not to be attracted to him. He possessed, in a rare combination, singular sweetness of personal disposition with intellectual equipment for the greatest tasks and a prodigious capacity for work.

Not only were his superiors in the Hierarchy glad to acknowledge the commanding traits which they saw in him, but his brother Bishops were ready to welcome any promotion that might come to him. Wherever he was in contact with priests, the mass of them became his devoted followers. They trusted in his almost instinctive trait of justice, which was linked with a wide charity and a degree of tact perhaps unequaled by any executive of his time, in or out of the Church.

Human nature seemed almost an open book to him, as to many other men who combine in themselves the elements of lofty success. He could form an instantaneous and often accurate judgment of one whom he met for the first time, and was able to modify such a view readily as circumstances might require. Although his character was conciliatory, it was of the kind whose strength was bound to dominate in the end. Few could attain with equal ease a purpose in the face of obstacles.

Virginia was a field only less difficult for a Bishop to cultivate than North Carolina. In the oldest of the American colonies, more than in any other of them, lingered the atmosphere of the England of Elizabeth, with its prejudices against the religion which her father had first championed and then attempted to stamp out in his kingdom with all the resources of his power. Under a sailcloth spread between the boughs of trees on Jamestown Island, in May, 1607, the Rev. Robert Hunt had read the first service of the Church of England on Virginian soil.[1] That church remained as firmly established in the colony as in the mother country until the revolution, and it transplanted to the banks of the James and the Rappahannock its characteristic institutions. The local vestries were entrusted with political as well as ecclesiastical functions, such as the care of orphans and the poor, and the pay of the colonial clergy was taken from public taxation. Anti-Catholic, anti-Puritan and anti-Quaker feeling was strong in Virginia and there was official frowning upon open worship other than that of the establishment, but happily without active persecution.

Marked traces of these conditions, especially in the tidewater counties of the State, survived the revolution and were not obliterated even in the passing of the first century of American independence. The ecclesiastical and social predominance of the Episcopal church continued to be evident in the outward aspect of community life there, being too closely threaded in the institutions of the people to be withdrawn suddenly. Presbyterians

[1] Lyon G. Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 116.

and Lutherans, however, entered the Shenandoah Valley in large numbers, and other denominations, especially Baptists and Methodists, soon outnumbered the Episcopalians in the mountainous districts of the State.

In North Carolina there had been scarcely any immigration of Catholics to furnish a foothold for the Church. There was little more in Virginia, but still enough to plant a nucleus in each of the larger cities, such as Richmond, Petersburg and Norfolk. Not until 1791 was the first Mass said in Richmond and for a score of years after that the growth of the Church in the State was extremely slow. The diocese was founded in 1820, but the outlook was so unpromising that it was abolished and united with Baltimore two years later. In 1840 it was reestablished by Bishop Wheeler, who administered it for ten years, and was succeeded by Bishop McGill, who labored in it for twenty-two years. Bishop Gibbons was therefore but the fourth in succession counting from Bishop Kelley, who was in charge during the brief period 1820–22.

Maryland and Virginia, so closely akin in many things, are totally unlike in church antecedents and influences. One has been receptive by tradition and feeling to the Catholic Church; the other has been the opposite.[2] In parts of Virginia a Catholic priest is unknown even at this day and would be looked upon as a curiosity if he should appear.

The post-bellum poverty which had hampered Bishop Gibbons in North Carolina in obtaining material support for the building of new churches and schools was even

[2] Browne, *Maryland, the History of a Palatinate*, pp. 27, 86.

more distressingly evident in Virginia, where, in the four years' struggle for the possession of the Confederate capital, great contending armies had ranged throughout the State. Groups of blackened chimneys marked the sites where flourishing villages had stood, fields were swept bare and the economic resources which escaped the seizure of the Federals had been given to the half-starved Confederates.

Of the able-bodied men of the State, a large proportion had been killed or maimed. Agricultural labor had been demoralized by the sudden freeing of the slaves and on many farms there was no man to sow or reap, no seed to plant.[3] Attempts at economic recovery were almost paralyzed by the misgovernment of the carpet-bag régime.

Bishop Gibbons, who had begun in North Carolina with only three churches, had at the outset in his new jurisdiction fifteen churches, the same number of chapels or stations, sixteen parochial schools and seventeen priests. Overflowing with initiative, he began a vigorous administration of which the results were soon apparent. His task was, as before, to win converts to the faith. The same liberality of view that had endeared him to the people of North Carolina without regard to creed appealed with equal strength to the predominantly Protestant population of Virginia. In the principal cities and towns of the State where his voice was soon heard and his personality felt, his sermons were largely addressed to non-Catholics, who comprised in many cases fully half or more than half of his audiences.

[3] Cooke, *History of Virginia*, pp. 506-7.

The Bishop's tact and quick perception were employed to the utmost in gauging his auditors. If they seemed to be seeking an exposition of Catholic doctrine as a fortification of their own faith, few could give it as well as he; but, did they come to listen that they might disapprove, he won their attention at the outset by the presentation of the simple truths of Christianity and then proceeded to a discussion of his theme with a breadth and charity of view that disarmed criticism. None could be offended. Protestants thanked him for visiting their towns and Catholics looked upon him as a shining exemplar of their faith.

His journal gives a faithful record of his labors in Virginia during that period. The following extracts cover his induction into the See, the passing of Spalding and the accession of Bayley to the archiepiscopal seat which Gibbons was soon to occupy:

"Jan. 14. [1872]. Bishop McGill, of Richmond, died.

"16. Was buried on the 16th.

"17. On reaching home from the funeral, a telegram was before me, announcing my appointment as administrator of the diocese of Richmond, *sede vacante*. This appointment was made by Most Rev. Dr. Spalding, with the advice of Drs. Wood, Lynch and Becker, who participated in the funeral obsequies.

"Feb. 7. Archbishop Spalding died. A great light is extinguished in Israel. I attended the funeral, having before his death given him the Holy Viaticum and read for him the profession of faith.

"27. Very Rev. Father Coskery died. R. I. P. He appointed me his administrator.

"Aug. 29. This morning I received from the Holy

Father, Pius IX, the bulls creating me Bishop of Richmond. The bulls were dated July 30. I retain jurisdiction over the vicariate of North Carolina till the Holy Father is pleased, at the suggestion of the Bishops of this province, to appoint a Bishop for North Carolina. Dr. Bayley, of Newark, received his bulls appointing him Archbishop of Baltimore. They are of the same date.

"Oct. 6. Today I preached my last sermon in Wilmington before moving my residence to Richmond, where I am to be installed on the 20th. Archbishop Bayley will be installed on the 13th.

"20. I was installed in the See of Richmond. The Most Rev. Dr. Bayley, Archbishop of Baltimore, preached the sermon and Right Rev. Dr. Becker pontificated. At the end of the Mass I delivered an address. Some 34 priests were present, including, with two or three exceptions, all the clergy of the diocese of Richmond. The church was crowded to its utmost capacity and many could not obtain admittance for want of room."

Soon after this he began a series of episcopal visitations marked by vigorous and skilfully directed efforts either to extend the work of each congregation or to plant a new one. Early in November he went to Lynchburg, where he preached and confirmed. From that city he proceeded to Lexington, where Robert E. Lee had died but two years before and where "Stonewall" Jackson had taught in the Virginia Military Institute. There was no Catholic church in the town and for want of better quarters the Bishop was compelled to confirm ten persons in the fire engine house. In the presence of a brilliant assembly reminiscent of ante-bellum social life in Virginia, he performed the ceremony of marriage for John B. Purcell and Miss Olympia Williamson. One

of the guests was General George Washington Custis Lee, son of the Confederate chieftain.

Continuing his habit of painstaking care in his work, he set down in his journal at that time exact financial details of the diocese, including the value of Church property, insurance, expenses and receipts. The annual statistics of St. Peter's Cathedral, the figures of the Altar Society's annual report and even the names of officers of temperance societies organized in Richmond under his administration were recorded in his own handwriting—a small, regular and legible script.

Early in 1873 he made a trip to North Carolina, preaching, lecturing, confirming and generally stimulating the work of the vicariate. He confirmed a class of nine at Raleigh, including the mayor and his wife, who were converts.

Returning to his duties in Virginia, he visited Alexandria, Fairfax, Gordonsville, Warrenton, Middleburg, Winchester and other places in the Northern part of the State, where memories of Washington, Madison, Monroe, Marshall and other early statesmen of the Republic abounded and where history had imprinted her stamp anew in the Civil War. Every church in the diocese received his attention and the entries in his journal began to record a flow of accessions. Among his memoranda of these visitations were the following:

"April 19. Visited Mrs. Lewis's family in King George County, 20 miles south-east from Fredericksburg. Mrs. Lewis's husband is the great-grand-nephew of George Washington. Said Mass, preached and confirmed three children of Mrs. Lewis.

"May 11. Yesterday I reached Warrenton, being the guest of Mrs. Payne. This morning I preached at High Mass on 'The Infallibility of the Pope' and after Mass confirmed 24 candidates, including one convert, Lieutenant Beattie, who served under Col. Mosby during the war.

"May 18. At early Mass this morning I confirmed at Alexandria 117 candidates, of whom 11 were converts, including Col. Kilgour, the district attorney. . . . At High Mass I preached on 'The Unity and Catholicity of the Church.'"

The completion of an exceptionally large parochial school in Richmond is thus chronicled in his journal for September 28, 1873:

"The Cathedral male school and academy, corner Ninth and Marshall streets, was dedicated this (Sunday) evening in the presence of a very large multitude, including the German and English beneficial societies.

"The ground cost $16,000.

"The building, $18,000.

"Furniture etc., $3,000.

"Total cost, $37,000.

"187 boys entered a few days after the opening. It is hoped that the number will be increased to 200."

Early in 1874 he had an attack of fever while on a visitation to North Carolina. He wrote in his journal:

"Jan. 17. We reached Goldsboro. Here I was attacked with fever the same night.

"18. With much difficulty the next morning (Sunday) I said Mass and confirmed eight candidates, including two converts, in the chapel. I retired immediately to bed, where I remained till Monday, the 19th, when I proceeded on to Wilmington with Father Gross, who

met me at Goldsboro. Father Townshend filled my engagement at Goldsboro. My engagement at Sampson is postponed.

"19. I arrived in Wilmington and am weak, but convalescing."

Abundant results were developing from his aggressive administration. Further entries in his journal were:

"March 30. This morning William S. Caldwell Esq.,[4] made me a present of his beautiful property situated on the Northeast corner of Marshall and Ninth streets (Richmond). On the lot a beautiful three-story house is erected. He also makes me a present of the rich furniture which adorns the house. He sent me the deed from New York. My intention is to use the building for a male orphan asylum. The property is worth about $20,000. About a year ago it was purchased by Mr. Caldwell at an executor's sale, Mr. C. being executor of the estate, which had belonged to his late sister, Mrs. Deans. The house and lot cost $16,000 and the valuable furniture nearly $6,000.

"April 21. Mr. Caldwell has expressed the desire that the house recently donated by him to me should be used as a home for the Little Sisters of the Poor. The Sisters were incorporated on the 16th under the title of 'The Little Sisters of the Poor in Richmond.' Both houses of the legislature passed the bill unanimously, suspending the rules in order to expedite its passage. The Governor promptly signed the bill. It is my intention, as soon as the Sisters arrive, to hand the property over to them, together with the furniture it contains." [The Bishop here pasted the act of incorporation in his journal.]

[4] Father of Mary Gwendoline Caldwell, who afterward gave $300,000 for the founding of the Catholic University at Washington.

"May 23. Mr. W. S. Caldwell, the donor of the property occupied by the Little Sisters of the Poor, died today. R. I. P.

"Aug. 11. Assisted by Fathers Gross and Reilly, I blessed the new Church of St. Mark, near Dr. Monk's residence, in Sampson county, North Carolina. Religious exercises were held for three consecutive days in the church and were well attended, especially on Sunday, the 11th, when nearly 500 persons were present. The church is a neat frame building about 35 by 55 and was built chiefly by the exertions of Dr. Monk.

"Oct. 13. This afternoon the Little Sisters of the Poor arrived and immediately took formal possession of their new home, corner Ninth and Marshall streets. The community numbers six members, of whom the superior is Sister Virginia—very appropriately called. * * * I have deeded the property to them and in accordance with the wish of Mr. Caldwell, which he made known to Mr. Charles O'Conor, of New York, I shall deliver to the Sisters the $2,000 which were bequeathed to me by the late Mr. Caldwell.

"Dec. 4. I returned from a visit to Lancaster and Northumberland counties, whither I went on the 29th inst. with Father Tiernan. We found about 20 Catholics in both counties. There is much religious indifference among the non-Catholics. The few faithful manifest generally a zealous spirit. I preached in an old shop at Lancaster Court House, the court house having been refused me. The audience was small.

"Feb. [1876]. On Sunday, Jan. 30, I introduced to the congregation in Petersburg the new community of Sisters of Charity just established there and afterward preached during the High Mass.

"6. I preached at the rededication of St. Bridget's Church in Baltimore.[5]

[5] His only pastoral charge.

"March 25. Bishop Kain, of Wheeling, having asked of the Holy See a redistribution of the dioceses of Richmond and Wheeling, the Cardinal [6] inclosed to me a copy of the Right Rev. Bishop's petition. I immediately wrote to the Cardinal, objecting to the proposed change, which was that the diocese of Wheeling should include all West Virginia and the diocese of Richmond all Virginia. This morning I received a reply from the Cardinal acquiescing in my objection and declining to authorize any change.

"June 7. I replied to Dr. Benoit, President of Mill Hill College, England, accepting his proposal of sending to Richmond two fathers for the evangelizing of the negroes. I promise to pay traveling expenses and one thousand dollars a year for three years.

"July 20. I visited Danville and preached there at night in the Odd Fellows Hall.

"July 28. Went by private conveyance to Covington, Allegheny county, a distance of 42 miles,[7] having crossed the North Mountain.

"30. Preached and confirmed in the Methodist church.

"Oct. 13. Sent Cardinal Franchi 126 pounds sterling and 13 shillings for the Holy Father. I urged also the early appointment of a Vicar Apostolic for North Carolina.

"Nov. 26. During the present month, at the request of Archbishop Bayley, who is infirm, I administered confirmation in several churches in Washington and Baltimore, also at Laurel.

"Jan. 3 [1877]. I bought for the Little Sisters of the Poor the property known as Warsaw, occupying a whole square bounded by Harvie, Main, Penn and Floyd streets. The property cost $12,500."

[6] Cardinal Franchi.
[7] From Lexington.

A robber broke into Bishop Gibbons' room at the house of a Mr. Conigland at Halifax, North Carolina, while he was visiting there early in January, 1874. His journal shows that he had preached on the evening before in a schoolhouse to a "congregation of about 20 persons," the small size of which he accounted for by "the exceedingly dark night and rainy weather." He added: "It was with much difficulty that we could be conveyed from Mr. Conigland's to the schoolhouse."

That night the Bishop was disturbed about 4:30 o'clock by the barking of dogs. Awaking, he heard at first indistinctly, but soon with clearness, a noise in his room caused by a thief who was searching for plunder. With the fearlessness which he always showed in emergencies of every kind, he leaped from his bed to attack the robber, who fled precipitately, not daring to risk the impending conflict. The Bishop wrote in his journal in describing the incident:

"I called out once or twice 'Who is there?' but received no answer, and, suspecting a robber, I jumped out of bed and the robber just escaped, leaving my vest at the door, which contained about $150. Fortunately I missed nothing, though my Cross was lying on the table and my watch under the pillow. I have reason to thank a watchful Providence for the safety of my effects and still more for the preservation of my life. The would-be robber had entered the house through a window and on retreating left on the ground the print of a large naked foot. It was fortunate that I did not seize him, as he probably would have overpowered me."

While in Wilmington on one of his visits, the Bishop issued a pamphlet on "Sacramental Confession" which

he records was "in reply to a 'charge' by the Right Rev. Dr. Atkinson, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina."

His journal also shows that after his return from the Vatican Council he took occasion to preach or lecture frequently on the much discussed work of that gathering, particularly the declaration of the infallible teaching office of the Papacy. Entries of this kind are numerous in his memoranda of labors in both Virginia and North Carolina. Another subject which he often discussed in the pulpit was Christian education, there being a great lack of parochial schools in the diocese and vicariate. Already he had begun to devote a considerable share of attention to work in behalf of temperance in the use of liquor, and his journal shows that not a few of his addresses on that topic were made at the request of and before non-Catholic organizations.

His records of the finances of his diocese present some interesting figures. For the year 1874 his tabulation indicates that the clergy of the Richmond Cathedral were by no means affluent, the following being among his memoranda:

Clergyman's salaries, $320.41; servants' wages, $333.50; organist's salary, $300.00.

The household expenses for the several clergy who resided with him were set down in the list as $1948.

Everywhere he went, Gibbons was a "Defender of the Faith," a rôle in which he took unquestioned preeminence later. He thus related the story of the conversion of an infidel in Richmond:

"I was requested by a lady in Richmond to call on her husband, who was suffering from a fatal malady, while his mind retained its vigor. This gentleman had been brought up in the school of Voltaire and his followers, whose infidel teachings he had imbibed, and he avowed himself not only an unbeliever in the Catholic faith, but even a skeptic in all revealed religion.

"In my conference with him I endeavored by every argument at my command to remove his objections against Christianity, and to prepare him for a rational acceptance of our holy religion. After listening to me with great patience and close attention, he courteously but frankly informed me that my remarks did not alter his views on religion, that between him and me there was an impassable gulf which no reasoning of mine could bridge over.

"Though mortified and discouraged by his candid reply, I did not despair, but resumed the conversation, substantially as follows: 'You certainly acknowledge, as an intelligent man,' I said, 'the existence of a Supreme Being, the Author of all creation and of all life.' 'Every man,' he replied, 'that uses his brains must concede that truth.' 'You must further admit,' I continued, 'that as this Author of our being is omniscient, He knows our condition; as He is omnipotent, He has power to succor us, and as He is infinitely good, He is not insensible to our wants. He, from whom all paternity is derived, must possess in an eminent degree, those paternal feelings that an earthly father has for his child.' 'That truth,' he replied, 'irresistibly follows from our conception of a Being infinitely intelligent, powerful and beneficent.' 'Is it not reasonable to suppose,' I added, 'that a Creator so benevolent will be moved by our entreaties, and that He will mercifully hearken to our petitions?' 'I cannot deny,' he said, 'the reasonableness of your conclusion.'

" 'Then,' I observed, 'you admit the utility of prayer,

and I ask you to promise me to offer up to this Supreme Providence this short petition: O God, give me light to see the truth, and strength to follow it.' He gave me the earnest assurance that he would repeat this prayer day by day as long as he had strength.

"Some days later I received a pressing message from my invalid friend to visit him again as soon as possible. I did so, and on entering his room I was deeply impressed with the glow of enthusiasm that shone on his face. Before I had time to address him he burst forth into an eloquent profession of faith in the divinity of the Catholic religion, and begged to receive the grace of Baptism in the presence of his old friends and associates, some of whom had shared in his unbelief. He died some weeks afterwards, fortified by the consolations of religion.

"From the depth of his spiritual darkness he had implored light from the Father of Light, and the Lord darted into his soul a ray of heavenly light that illumined his mind and tranquillized his heart more effectually than any human reasoning could have accomplished." [8]

During the five years when Bishop Gibbons presided over the Richmond diocese, the number of churches increased from 15 to 24, with about the same number of chapels or stations, to which 24 priests ministered. Ten new parochial schools were established. The diocese was kept virtually free from debt.[9]

He was not able during this period to obtain the appointment of a Vicar Apostolic for North Carolina. The faithful Father Gross wrote in February, 1876:

"When, on the death of the Bishop of Richmond, Bishop Gibbons was *nolens volens* inducted by his Holi-

[8] He gave this account in a sermon on "Prayer, Source of Light, Comfort and Strength."

[9] *Catholic Standard,* Philadelphia, October 27, 1877, quoted by Reily, *Collections in the Life and Times of Cardinal Gibbons,* Vol. 2, p. 113.

ness Pius IX into the See of Richmond, with the title of Administrator Apostolic over the vicariate of North Carolina, it was but the change of an additional new field, bringing an increase of the same arduous duties. The change was, and still is, keenly felt by the people and especially by the clergy of North Carolina. But the vicariate is not forgotten, nor is it neglected. Frequent visits are made in the State, when the Bishop lectures upon Catholic truths and cheers the hearts of all, laity and clergy, by his presence. The citizens of Wilmington, Raleigh, Charlotte, Salisbury and Fayetteville frequently enjoy his strong and engaging discourses in explanation of Catholic doctrine. He has multiplied his help by the admission of priests for the mission. . . .

"But, thank God, if the field of North Carolina has been well worked, the fruit has been abundant. No Catholics are more fervent; no people are more easily won over to the faith. Of three missions, two of them can boast of a hundred converts each; the other of thirty. Male and female Catholic schools have been established. In a word, Rev. Dr. Gibbons found in North Carolina in 1868 three priests (one borrowed, since returned), now there are seven or eight; he found 700 Catholics, now there are 1600; . . . The word is still 'onward' in North Carolina.

"An impression prevails that the Catholics could not support their Vicar and Bishop, hence his removal. They could not honor him, indeed, with these episcopal surroundings becoming, but not necessary to, his sublime office of Bishop. Such wealth of catholicity North Carolina does not possess. The Pope's Vicar did not come to find and enjoy the becoming honors and dignity of an established diocese, but to accept and to perform the duty of a Bishop—to preach the gospel, to convert souls; to accept the poverty of a vicariate, and by his apostolic labor, to make it rich with the wealth of Catholic faith.

"The field of North Carolina, with its poverty and trials, and sparse Catholicity, was, and is yet, not too much for our Vicar, nor for any one whom the Holy Father may judge to send. Everything has a beginning. Even the gospel of Christ has its seed. Others may enter into our labor and may enjoy its fruits. The more numerous and imperative wants of the Richmond diocese, widowed by the death of Rev. Dr. McGill, removed our Vicar. Rather the spiritual poverty of the Richmond diocese caused the transfer than any failure in North Carolina.

"Our Vicar was removed with the promise of another; but our Bishop's zeal is so untiring, his charity so unselfish, that though we constantly regret, we feel the less his transfer. Catholicity is still advancing in North Carolina, and rapidly, though our Vicar's undivided efforts would, of course, produce still greater results." [10]

Bishop Gibbons' ties with the archdiocese of Baltimore were closer during his period of residence in Richmond than while he had lived in Wilmington. He frequently visited Baltimore to assist in ecclesiastical ceremonies and became, in fact, almost as much identified with one diocese as the other. His selection as the preacher at the consecration of the Baltimore Cathedral May 25, 1876, was singularly happy, as no one could have been expected to speak with more deeply aroused sensibilities of that edifice.[11] It had been a part of his life and his life had been a part of it.

The occasion was one to move powerfully any Catholic prelate. Within two hundred feet of the Cathedral had

[10] Letter to the *Southern Cross*, February 9, 1876, quoted by Reily, Vol. II, p. 106, *et seq.*

[11] The corner-stone of the Cathedral had been laid in 1806 by Archbishop Carroll, but it was not free of debt until seventy years later.

been old St. Peter's Church, the first of the Catholic religion in Baltimore, erected about 1770 on the north side of what is now Saratoga Street, near Charles Street, on land bought six years before from Charles Carroll, father of Charles Carroll of Carollton. For the realization of his dream of a Cathedral, Archbishop Carroll had raised $225,000, a great sum in those days, by collections, subscriptions and even by a lottery, which accorded with the custom of the times. Benjamin H. Latrobe, the architect of the Capitol in Washington, drew the plans.

The Cathedral was cruciform in its original outlines. It is now capped by Byzantine towers which dominate its architectural tone. The great blocks of granite for its construction were hauled from Ellicott City, ten miles distant, by oxen. John Eager Howard, hero of the battle of the Cowpens, gave much of the large lot on which it stands and which lends to it the spaciousness of lawn and terrace lacking in so many Cathedrals planted in the midst of crowded building areas in American cities.

The War of 1812 stopped the work, and while still unfinished the edifice was dedicated May 31, 1821, by Archbishop Marechal. Seven years later the same Archbishop gave it a large bell, bought in his native France, and completed one of the towers. Archbishop Eccleston finished the second tower and Archbishops Kenrick and Spalding erected the noble portico adorned with huge pillars.

In the crypt of this venerable church the bodies of Carroll and the succeeding Archbishops have found sepulture. The Provincial Council of 1829, the first of the Catholic Church in any English-speaking country

since the Reformation, was held within its walls. Among the historic church edifices of America the Baltimore Cathedral is easily first in importance, though not in antiquity.[12]

In his sermon at the consecration, Bishop Gibbons dwelt on the history of the Cathedral and the permanency of the Church and then struck a note which had already become characteristic of him. He said:

"Need it be repeated that the Church is slandered when it is charged that she is inimical to liberty? The Church flourishes only in the beams of liberty. She has received more harm from the tyranny and oppression of kings and rulers than any other victim of their power. We pray for the prosperity of this our young country. In this, its centennial year, we rejoice that it has lived to show a sturdy life of liberty and regard for right and we raise the prayer, '*esto perpetua.*' "

The same note from the same strong voice was to be heard in the Cathedral pulpit only a little more than a year later when the Bishop of Richmond had become Archbishop of Baltimore. The way was being prepared for the honors that were to come to Gibbons. On March 28, 1875, he wrote in his journal:

"Archbishop McCloskey is created Cardinal, being the first American who has received that dignity."

On April 27 he noted:

"I was present with many prelates at the ceremony of conferring the (red) biretta on Cardinal McCloskey in the Cathedral of New York."

[12] Riordan, *Cathedral Records*, pp. 93–98.

While his thoughts at the time were far from associating his own career with that honor, it is interesting to observe that he viewed it in much the same light as that in which his appointment as Cardinal afterwards impressed him—an honor to his country and to its Protestant as well as Catholic people. He thus expressed himself:

"The Hierarchy of the United States will rejoice to hear that this eminent dignity has been conferred on an American prelate who has endeared himself to the Church by his long services in the cause of religion, his marked ability, his unostentatious piety and great suavity of manners. I am persuaded also that not only the Catholic body of this country but our citizens at large will receive with just pride the intelligence that the Holy Father has determined to associate an American Bishop with the members of the Sacred College. There is no doubt that the venerable Archbishop of New York will fill with marked distinction and wisdom that exalted and responsible position." [13]

While serving in Richmond Bishop Gibbons uttered the first of those vigorous declarations on public questions which the whole nation came to heed later. He assailed the proposal made by President Grant in a message to Congress December 7, 1875, for the enactment of a Constitutional amendment tending in the direction of Federal control of education, saying:

"The Constitutional amendment regarding the school question, recommended by President Grant, if carried out, would reduce our American republic to the condi-

[13] New York *Herald*, March 14, 1875.

tion of things that existed in pagan Rome. In the Old Roman empire the individual was absorbed by the State, which was a political juggernaut crushing under its wheels all personal liberty. . . .

"The most crushing of all despotisms is that of a centralized government. It is the idol before which the citizen must offer in sacrifice his personal liberty as well as his parental rights over his children, for the government, in assuming the education of the child, usurps the place of the father and robs him of his most sacred privilege—that of directing the training of his offspring. And what becomes of liberty when it is lost in the individual and the family? It is to that personal freedom (which always involves personal responsibility and personal energy) that we are chiefly indebted as a nation.

"The general government has no more right to dictate to the father when and where and how he must educate his children than it has to prescribe his food or the shape of his clothes. Those who advocate this system of centralization are slavishly imitating the most absolute governments in Continental Europe. Besides, if popular education is wrested from the family and the State and placed in the hands of the Federal government, of whatever political party, it will give the administration an overwhelming patronage which would destroy all balance of power and reduce minorities to a mere cipher. Nor do I see how paganism and religion can be simultaneously excluded from the schools as the President proposes, for if an education excludes all religion it is necessarily pagan, there being no medium between the two terms.

"To tax church property and charitable institutions is putting a premium on infidelity and avarice and makes religion and philanthropy arduous by imposing a penalty on those who maintain Christianity and support charitable houses. The inevitable result of such taxation would be to cripple the churches and increase the burden

of the State by making it the almoner of those poor who are now maintained by private benevolence." [14]

The Bishop expressed the belief that the American people would never indorse such proposals.[15]

The Bishop's farewell sermon to the people of his diocese in St. Peter's Cathedral, October 14, 1877, when he had been elevated to the See of Baltimore, reflected the modesty with which he contemplated the results of the task that had been fulfilled. Though he had done so much for Virginians, he gave the human credit to his predecessor, Bishop McGill. He said:

"Ever since I took charge of this portion of the Lord's vineyard, God has singularly blessed us. To Him be all the honor and glory. Every other cause of success is secondary to Him. Paul soweth, Apollos watereth, but God giveth the increase. Without Him, we would have made no progress. We would have fished all night, like Peter, and caught nothing.

"Next to God, you are indebted to my venerable and illustrious predecessor, who left the diocese in a solvent and healthy condition. He was a man of eminent prudence and discretion, and of caution verging on timidity. He might have gained for himself a great name for enterprise and material progress by erecting churches and other institutions throughout the diocese, without regard to expense. But with all that, he might have bequeathed to his successor a load of debt which would have paralyzed his usefulness and crushed his heart.

[14] President Grant in this message proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution requiring the States to maintain free schools adequate to the education of every child, "forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic or pagan tenets," and prohibiting the granting of school funds in any State, "in aid directly or indirectly of any religious sect or denomination." He also favored the taxation of all church property.

[15] New York *Herald*, December 11, 1875.

OLD ST. PETER'S CATHEDRAL AND BISHOP'S RESIDENCE, RICHMOND, VA., IN 1876

"He left me few debts to pay and few scandals to heal. He left a diocese without incumbrance and a character without reproach. It was fortunate for this diocese that Bishop McGill presided over its destinies for upwards of twenty years, for he stamped his character upon the older clergy, who had the happiness of observing his edifying life and of being associated with him in the ministry.

"It is very gratifying to me, though this is the first occasion I have done so, to speak in terms of praise of the clergy of this diocese. Other priests, indeed, I have met who have a greater reputation for learning and the graces of oratory, but taken as a body, I have never met any priests to surpass those of this diocese in attachment to duty, in singleness of purpose, in personal virtue and obedience to the voice of authority. And if I be permitted to single out some of the clergy from among their colleagues, surely I can point with peculiar joy to the Cathedral clergy, who have lived with me as members of the same household, and who have always deported themselves in a manner becoming their sacred calling. . . . If I could lift the veil and reveal to you their domestic life, I could disclose to you a spirit of order, peace and brotherly concord which I hope to see imitated, but dare not hope to see surpassed.

"As for you, brethren of the laity, you can bear me witness that I never indulged you by vain flattery, but that I have always endeavored to propose to you your duty, no matter how distasteful it might have been to flesh and blood. But on the present occasion I would be doing violence to my own feelings if I did not express my deep sense of admiration for the piety of many of you, which edified me; for the obedience of all of you, which consoled me, and for your spirit of generosity, which strengthened my hands. I have never had occasion to rebuke you for any factious opposition, still less for

any manifestation of a rebellious spirit, and I have always found you ready with heart and hand to second any effort I proposed for the advancement of religion. . . .

"I cannot without regret depart from a city to which I am bound by so many attachments, and from a people who have always manifested so much kindness toward me. I ask your prayers all the time. I do not ask you to pray that I may have a long life—that is immaterial—but pray that God may give light to my understanding, strength to my heart and rectitude to my will, in order to fulfil well the duties that may devolve upon me. I pray that God may send you a Bishop according to His own heart—a man of zeal and mercy, who will cause virtue and religion and faith to flourish and bear fruit throughout the length of the diocese." [16]

His fellow citizens of Richmond without distinction of religious belief viewed his departure with regret. Already he had become much more than an ecclesiastical figure in the public eye. Many testimonials of the esteem for him which had become deeply rooted there brightened his last days in the diocese. His journal contains this entry for October 16, 1877, recording the parting evidence of his priests' affection:

"The clergy of the diocese dined with me today, having kindly come from their respective homes to say good-by. After dinner, through Father O'Keefe, they presented me a beautiful chalice. The paten and cup are solid gold; the other parts are silver gilt."

[16] *Catholic Mirror*, October 20, 1877.

CHAPTER VIII

ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE

Now the frail student who had staggered half fainting from the classroom, despairing over the thought that early death was to be his portion, instead of the ecclesiastical career which he so ardently desired, was near the climax of his transformation in the processes of time. At forty-three years of age he was called from Richmond to become Archbishop of Baltimore, and his elevation to the See was marked by an outburst of general acclamation in the two dioceses such as the elevation of no Catholic prelate in the United States had evoked before that time.

Intolerance in religion, the monstrous foe which he had faced with undaunted courage and fought unceasingly from the moment of his advent in North Carolina, was beginning to weaken under his powerful assaults. Non-Catholics as well as Catholics hailed his promotion as an honor bestowed upon a man of God and a man of the people, a friend of humanity without distinction of creed, a patriot whose civic example was inspiring to all his fellow countrymen.

His gifts were too evident to be concealed longer by his exceptional modesty, and his comparative youth seemed rather to emphasize them. Modesty in his case was far removed from shyness, for there was no trace of timidity in him. Neither did he exhibit evidences of the

self-consciousness with which many excellent men are burdened. His modesty had taken the form of habitual deference not only to his superiors in rank but also to those on an equality with him, and even to many of his inferiors, including persons of the laity whose judgment he considered valuable. He had not seemed desirous of asserting his own personality or of dictating opinions to others, and few men in executive posts were as receptive as he to workable suggestions from any source.

Yet he was never for an instant oblivious of the authority which he possessed, and the use of which was required by his vows, as the few who sought to question that authority, in the inevitable experiences of a Bishop's life, had ample reason to know. Greater forcefulness could not have been shown than his when one of the pastors of the church at Asheville became recalcitrant. Bishop Gibbons wrote of this experience to Archbishop Bayley that it brought "the most trying moment of my life," but he did not quail in the performance of his full duty until his jurisdiction had been reestablished without question.

Two successive Archbishops of Baltimore had deemed him fitted to sit after them in the seat of Carroll. Archbishop Spalding at his death in 1872 left a list of those whom he considered eligible to take up his work, and on it was the name of Gibbons, then only thirty-eight years old, who but four years before had been his secretary. In the judgment of Rome, however, it was fitting that the young Vicar Apostolic should wait, and James Roosevelt Bayley, one of the most interesting figures

whose impress has been left upon the Catholic Church in America, became next in line.

Bayley was a near connection of the Roosevelt family of New York, from which an American president afterwards sprang. He was a grandson of Dr. Richard Bayley, celebrated as an anatomist and a pioneer of American medicine. Born to luxury and culture, he mingled in the fashionable social life of New York City in his younger days. His family were of the Protestant Episcopal faith and, his thoughts turning to the ministry, he was ordained in that church, serving as rector of an important congregation in New York. Converted to the Catholic Church, he studied for orders at the seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris and was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, famous as the head of the New York archdiocese in the Civil War. On account of his ripe scholarship, he was made president of St. John's College, Fordham, New York.[1] His contributions to literature were considerable.[2] He was serving as Bishop of Newark when a warm friendship sprang up between him and Archbishop Spalding.

Bayley did not wish to go to Baltimore, saying: "I am too old a tree to be transplanted." He refused to accept the idea of the change until the Papal decree ordering it had been issued. He and Gibbons had been thrown intimately together at the Vatican Council. The Bishop of Newark was then a score of years older than the Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina, but soon strong

[1] Now Fordham University, New York City.
[2] O'Gorman, *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 474.

ties developed between them. In the long months of the Council, when Americans were participating for the first time in a general synod of the Church, the older prelate learned to admire both the talents and the graces of the younger. Gibbons in turn was captivated by the intellectual powers, the broad and deep cultivation, the strong nature of Bayley; and their friendship continued during the years immediately following their return to America, until unexpected fate threw them in closer contact.

Bayley's practical experience in life before his retirement into the semi-isolation of the Church had continued to be of the greatest use to him. He was a keen judge of the capabilities of others and saw in his young friend traits that would adorn the most exalted positions.

Gibbons was one of the first to be informed of the elevation of the new Archbishop, who was to exert such a marked influence upon his life. He wrote to Bayley:

"WILMINGTON, N. C.,
"August 12, 1872.

"MOST REV. DEAR FRIEND:

"I have just received a private dispatch announcing your appointment to Baltimore.

"I am permitted to give vent at last to my feelings by expressing my heartfelt gratitude to God and congratulations to you. The wishes of my heart are now fulfilled.

"You will be glad to learn that you have been the desired of Baltimore, as I have reason to know, for many opened their hearts freely to me on the subject.

"Devotedly yours in Christ,
"JAMES GIBBONS,
"Vic. Ap. N. C."

These two prelates were inducted into their new posts almost at the same time. On October 13, 1872, when Bayley was invested with the pallium in the Baltimore Cathedral, Gibbons took part in the ceremony. The next Sunday the new Archbishop installed Gibbons in St. Peter's Cathedral, Richmond, as the head of that diocese.

Soon after Archbishop Bayley's transfer to Baltimore his health became even more infirm. Lacking a coadjutor, he turned to Bishop Gibbons for assistance in confirmations and other ceremonies over which he was unable to preside. Richmond being only a few hours distant from Baltimore by railroad, the arrangement was a convenient one. The warm friendship of the older prelate for the younger, together with Gibbons' ready acquiescence in all of the Archbishop's plans, led to these calls becoming increasingly frequent.

Intimate association tightened the bonds between these churchmen which, as in the former instance of Spalding and Gibbons, became almost as close as those of father and son. They were in frequent correspondence. At one time Archbishop Bayley's sight became impaired and Bishop Gibbons wrote:

"RICHMOND, VA.,
"March 2, 1874.

"MOST REV., DEAR ARCHBISHOP:

"I learned this morning from Bishop Whelan that your eyes are again giving you trouble. I know of no affliction greater than impaired sight, especially to one like ourselves, who spend so much time among the ancients. The appearance of your eyes gives no indication of weakness. I trust there is nothing serious.

"I hope your Grace will soon pay me your promised visit. You can here enjoy a few days' *otium cum dignitate.* Whatever *dig.* you have at home there is little of the *otium.* . . .

"Yours affectionately in Christ,

"JAMES GIBBONS,
"Bishop of Richmond."

In the same year he wrote to the Archbishop telling frankly of some of the difficulties which he encountered in North Carolina, but showing characteristic hopefulness. He thus summarized his experiences:

"I have been lately weeding my two big gardens of Virginia and North Carolina. It is hard work while one is at it, but is pleasure when it is done." [8]

In a subsequent letter he alluded to the calmness with which the Archbishop contemplated death as a prospect of relief from physical afflictions and, singularly, expressed a strong desire on his own part to live, perhaps feeling the irresistible urge of the larger part in life which awaited him. He wrote:

"RICHMOND, VA.,
"November 5, 1875.

"MOST REV., DEAR ARCHBISHOP:

"As I have not heard from your Grace for some time, I have thought this morning of throwing out this as a bait to catch a letter from you. I was in Maryland in September, when I gave a five days' retreat to students of St. Charles' College. I went thence to Emmitsburg, where I was successful in obtaining two communities of Sisters of Charity for two of my Virginia missions. That community is best suited to my section of the country.

[8] Letter of Bishop Gibbons to Archbishop Bayley, April 23, 1874.

"You were looked for with eagerness at Emmitsburg when I was there. Mother Uphemia, though far from wishing your speedy demise, pointed out to me with true exultation your future mausoleum. May it long remain empty of its guest! Would that I could contemplate death with as much complacency as your Grace. I declaim tolerably well on death in general; but when the question is narrowed down to myself, ah! there's the difficulty. . . .

"A very successful mission at our Cathedral closed last Sunday night. It was given by the Jesuits. They carried out my wishes to the letter by avoiding controversy in their sermons. My little experience in this region has convinced me that polemical discussions do not effect as much good as moral discussions interlarded with some points of doctrine. . . .

"I was exceedingly rejoiced to learn of Mr. Carroll's election.[4] It appeared to me that his defeat would have deterred Catholics from presenting themselves as candidates and would have tempted political parties virtually to exclude them from aspiring to places of honor, as used to be the law in Great Britain. All honor to my native State! . . .

"Affectionately yours in our Lord,

"JAMES,

"Bishop of Richmond."

The big turn of the road for Gibbons came in sight in 1874, a short time before he reached his fortieth birthday. In that year Archbishop Bayley formed the definite decision to propose him for coadjutor in the See of Baltimore with the right of succession, and wrote to him announcing that conclusion, which meant that the young Bishop of Richmond would soon receive, in all

[4] The election of John Lee Carroll as Governor of Maryland.

probability, one of the highest honors of the Church in America. Besides, it meant presiding over the See where his hopes and thoughts had centered so long.

It was an offer which might have been expected to attract any man, and to have drawn forth a grateful reply of immediate acceptance. But Gibbons at this second decisive stage of his life, as at the first when he was called from the Canton pastorate, showed an inclination to obstruct his own advancement in the Church. He wrote a letter to Bayley which seems to have had the effect of shaking the Archbishop's resolution temporarily. This was his reply to the offer:

"RICHMOND, VA.,
"July 22, 1874.

"MOST REV., DEAR ARCHBISHOP:

"After three weeks absence, I returned home last evening and found your welcome letter awaiting me . . .

"I would rather be silent than speak about the coadjutorship. It has started various conflicting thoughts in my mind. I have a grounded fear that I would not satisfy your Grace's expectations and that I would not improve on closer acquaintance.

"One thing would reconcile me to the change—the reasonable prospect of your long life. I shall say no more but silently pray that God's will may be done. Things are now, thank God, in such splendid order in this diocese that I have little trouble directing affairs. . . .

"I was sorry to hear of your sudden attack. You have acted wisely in leaving 106 North Charles Street[5] where St. Quietus is not recognized, but St. Campanus is

[5] The former number on Charles Street, Baltimore, of the Archiepiscopal residence.

always heard . . . I hope that before the Fall comes you will visit one of our Virginia springs.

"Affectionately your friend and brother in Christ,

"James Gibbons,

"Bishop of Richmond."

Bayley was well aware that the "one thing" which Gibbons said would "reconcile" him to the change—the "reasonable prospect of your long life"—was but a feeble hope. The letter was, in effect, an expression of unwillingness to accept the appointment, although not an absolute declination to do so. Bayley pressed the request; but Gibbons insisted that he ought not to accept the coadjutorship for two reasons, general incapacity and physical weakness on his part.

The Archbishop temporized with the situation, the need of early action being felt the less because Bishop Gibbons never allowed his own preoccupations to interfere with helping in the work in Baltimore. Although he was then the spiritual overseer of all the Catholic churches in Virginia and North Carolina, his capacity as an administrator enabled him to keep both organizations going at high speed with a minimum of effort on his own part. He had already developed the habit of training others to execute independent responsibilities, though always insistent upon having full information and directing general policies.

The eyes of the people of the archdiocese of Baltimore, no less than the discriminating vision of the Archbishop, continued to turn to him as the coming man. In Baltimore he had been born and baptized; studied for the ministry and been ordained; served as parish priest

at St. Bridget's and as assistant at the Cathedral; and the numerous body of the clergy there looked upon him as a friend and a natural leader.

Archbishop Bayley, after two more years of association with Gibbons, obtained a full understanding with him, and proceeded, none too soon, with the proposal of the nomination of a coadjutor. He wrote in his diary March 24, 1876:

"Two years ago the doctor advised me to obtain the assistance of a coadjutor. My health troubles me so much I find it difficult to attend to my duties. Today I wrote to his Eminence Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishops Purcell, Kenrick, Wood and Williams, asking them to assist me in obtaining as my coadjutor *cum jure successionis* the Bishop of Richmond." [6]

The time was ripe for the decisive change in Bishop Gibbons' career. Events moved fast. In May, 1877, he was appointed titular Archbishop of Janopolis and coadjutor to the incumbent of the See of Baltimore, with the right of succession; and when that prelate died at Newark, October 3, in the same year, he succeeded to the post at once.

These events are briefly recorded in his journal thus:

"May 15 [1877]. Received a telegram to-night from Mr. McMaster,[7] stating that I was preconized Coadjutor Bishop of Baltimore *cum jure successionis. Fiat voluntas tua. In manu tua sortes mea.*

[6] The Rev. M. J. Riordan, *The Catholic Church in the United States of America*, Vol. 2, p. 31.
[7] James A. McMaster, Editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal.*

"July 26. Returned from a vacation tour to Boston, Portland, Montreal and Niagara Falls after an absence of three weeks. Father Gaitley [8] accompanied me.

"Aug. 1. The bulls appointing me Bishop of Janopolis *in partibus*, and releasing me from the charge of the diocese of Richmond, arrived by mail from Rome today.

"2. Very Rev. Dr. Dubreul [9] writes that the bulls appointing me coadjutor to the Archbishop of Baltimore, *cum jure success.* were forwarded to him from Philadelphia by Archbishop Wood, who was the bearer of them from Rome. May God give me light to know my duty and strength to fulfil it.

"27. Repaired to Newark, where the Most Rev. Archbishop [10] is sojourning after his return from Europe. His health is so precarious and critical that I anointed him on the morning of the 29th.

"Sept. 5. I have written to the Holy Father, acknowledging receipt of the bulls appointing me to Baltimore, thanking his Holiness for his confidence in me and accepting the charge.

"28. Father Janssens [11] arrived from Europe. With the concurrence of the Archbishop, I have appointed him administrator of Richmond and North Carolina *sede vacante*. Summoned by telegram, I left for Newark to see the Archbishop, who is reported to be dying.

"Oct. 3. This morning, about 10:30, the Most Rev. James R. Bayley, Archbishop of Baltimore, died in Newark after a prolonged illness. His death was peaceable and without a struggle. May his soul this day be in peace."

[8] His former classmate, for many years pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Baltimore.

[9] Superior of St. Mary's Seminary and Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

[10] Bayley.

[11] Vicar General of the diocese of Richmond; afterward Archbishop of New Orleans.

The funeral of Archbishop Bayley in the Baltimore Cathedral, October 9, was marked by many tributes of clergy and people to the work of that remarkable man. Cardinal McCloskey, of New York, who had been raised to the Sacred College two years before; Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia, Archbishop Gibbons and many Bishops and priests were present at the services. Bishop Thomas Foley, of Chicago, delivered the funeral discourse, recalling the exceptional contributions which Bayley had made to the progress of the Catholic Church and the spiritual welfare of the American people.

The Archbishop had asked that when his labors were ended his body should rest near the grave of his aunt, Mother Seton, who introduced the Sisters of Charity into the United States. It was taken to Emmitsburg, and lowered into the vault beside all that was mortal of that saintly woman.[12]

The journal of Gibbons sets at rest a misconception which attained considerable currency. He had continued to reside in Richmond up to the time of Bayley's death. Some of the canonists were disposed to put forward the contention that as he had not transferred his seat to Baltimore he could not rightfully succeed to the archbishopric, and that the process of selection would have to be carried out again. When he moved in and took possession as Archbishop of Baltimore in October, they softened their contention by asserting that as possession was nine points of the law it was useless to raise the question of the tenth point. Gibbons was considered by some of these observers to have settled the matter with

[12] Riordan, *Cathedral Records*, p. 85.

a coup, though the quotations from his journal just given show that all the formalities of his transfer had been complied with.

When he removed his residence to the archiepiscopal house in his native city, there to spend the remainder of his days, he was at the halfway point of his life. It is an interesting circumstance that the span before him was then exactly forty-three years, his age upon his elevation to the archbishopric.

That the new Archbishop began his administration with the vigor which marked it throughout, is shown by these entries in his journal recording his earliest activities and impressions in the seat which he was to occupy so long:

"Oct. 19 [1877]. I arrived in Baltimore, my future home, from Richmond and immediately entered on my new duties. The clergy attached to the Cathedral are Rev. Thomas S. Lee (rector), Rev. W. E. Starr (chancellor) and Rev. Alfred Curtis (secretary), all pious, zealous and accomplished gentlemen, as far as my observation and information enable me to judge.

"23. I attended a meeting in regard to the American College, Rome. The meeting took place in the Cardinal's house, New York, and was attended by the prelates composing the Executive Committee, viz., his Eminence, the Archbishops of Baltimore, Boston and Philadelphia, and the Bishops of Newark and Hartford. Bishop Lynch was also present.

"22. I visited Rock Hill (College), where I was hospitably entertained by the Brothers. Several priests and laymen were present.

"27. I visited Woodstock [12] and met with a very

[12] A seat of the Jesuits in Howard County, Maryland.

flattering reception from the fathers and students. The Provincial, Father Brady, accompanied me from Baltimore.

"29. I made a visitation to the Carmelite Convent in company with Father Hespelin, C. SS. R., the chaplain. I found the sisters in excellent health notwithstanding—or rather because of—their abstemiousness, and a good spirit appears to pervade the community.

"30. Captain William Kennedy, of happy memory, left $5000 that the capital should be invested and masses be said for himself and family from the interest accruing. This $5000 had been invested in city bonds until today, when I had the amount transferred to city stock: $300 a year is the interest on the $5000, which is divided equally among the three Cathedral clergy, who are obliged to say annually one hundred masses for Mr. Kennedy and family. The rector of the Cathedral is charged with the duty of carrying out the terms of this fund. This bequest is duly recorded on a bronze tablet in the sacristy."

The new Archbishop at once gave evidence of his keen judgment of men, perhaps unexcelled in his time. For the vacant bishopric of Richmond his choice was the Rev. John J. Keane,[14] then assistant pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, whom he considered—thus he wrote—"a rare combination of head and heart." Gibbons set down as follows in his journal the steps taken to select his successor in Virginia:

"Oct. 20 [1877]. I invited the Bishops of the province to attend a meeting at my residence for the purpose of making nominations for the vacancy of Rich-

[14] Afterward the first rector of the Catholic University of America and Archbishop of Dubuque.

mond. All the Bishops excepting Dr. Moore of St. Augustine were present, viz., Bishops Lynch, Becker, Gross and Kain. The following names were agreed upon: Mgr. Chatard, Rev. J. J. Keane, Assistant Pastor of St. Patrick's, Washington, and Rev. Harry Northrop of Charleston.

"Dec. 7. Wrote to Cardinal Franchi in relation to the Richmond appointment, strongly recommending Rev. Father Keane and expressing the fear that the removal of Mgr. Chatard at the present juncture from the rectorship of the American College would be injurious to the College.

"Aug. 1 [1878]. The bulls which were forwarded to me for Dr. Keane of Richmond from Rome April 13 arrived to-day. The post office officials of Baltimore, not being acquainted with Italian, did not understand the name 'Giacomo' and advertised the letter 'G. Gibbons.' Not being called for, it was sent to the Dead Letter Office, New York, whence it was recovered after I had made some investigations at the Post office."

The vicariate of North Carolina was more difficult to fill. For this place Archbishop Gibbons recommended the humble and devoted priest who had willingly shared his labors and privations at the outset of his episcopal career. He recorded in his journal:

"March 17 [1880]. Definite information has reached me in reference to the appointment by the Holy See of the Rev. Mark S. Gross to the Vicariate of North Carolina. I urged the appointment very strongly last January.

"April 6. Wrote to Cardinal Simeoni acknowledging the receipt of the Apostolic briefs for Rt. Rev. M. S. Gross and expressing the hope of soon meeting his Eminence in Rome.

"Oct. 8. I wrote to Cardinal Simeoni in regard to Father Mark Gross' resignation, hoping that it will be accepted on account of his ill health and dread of the responsibility, and suggesting that Bishop Keane be appointed Administrator of North Carolina till a new appointment is made."

The resignation of the simple-hearted Father Gross had been presented at a meeting of the Bishops of the province held in Baltimore. Gibbons was greatly impressed when his protégé, Bishop Keane, made a characteristic proposal to take up the work of the vicariate and devote his full energies to it if the Holy See would release him from the bishopric of Richmond. Setting down an account of the meeting in his journal the Archbishop wrote:

"I shall refer his (Bishop Keane's) magnanimous proposition to Cardinal Simeoni with the suggestion that it be not accepted."

Bishop Keane continued for some years to perform the duties of both the bishopric and the vicariate, as Gibbons had done before him. The vicariate was finally filled by the appointment of the Rev. H. P. Northrop, who had long labored as a priest in the field. Archbishop Gibbons installed him in St. Thomas' Church, Wilmington, in January, 1882, returning to that city in the fulness of his new honors to greet his old flock.

None welcomed the Archbishop to Baltimore with more fervor than his former congregation at St. Bridget's, where only twelve years before he had served in his only pastorate. He thus recorded his return to them in his new capacity:

"Dec. 2 [1877]. I preached at High Mass in St. Bridget's Church on 'Sanctity' and at Vespers I confirmed. The pews and galleries were crowded and a good portion of the aisles filled.

"6. I attended St. Bridget's fair with Dr. Foley."

Gibbons had already developed out of his many-sided nature a warm interest in work for the reclamation of wayward boys, which he retained throughout his life. He wrote:

"Oct. 23 [1877]. I presided at a meeting of the trustees of St. Mary's Industrial School, at which we agreed to purchase the building known as the Black Horse Tavern, at the corner of High and Low Streets (Baltimore), from William A. Stewart, trustee. The purchase was afterward effected by William H. Ward, property agent, for $11,700. The building will be used as a home for the boys who have been provided with occupations in the city from St. Mary's Industrial School and for other destitute boys. It will be in charge of the Xavierian Brothers. Many 'arabs,' it is hoped, will be thus reclaimed.

"Dec. 9. . . . At 3:30 I went to the Industrial School with Dr. Chapelle, Col. Boone and Mr. Kerchner and confirmed 105 boys. The institution now contains 370 boys and is in a very flourishing condition, being supported jointly by the State, city and private charity.

"Nov. 4 [1878]. The fair for St. James' Home for Boys [15] commenced this evening. Governor Carroll was introduced at the fair by me and delivered an address. Most of the city churches had tables at the fair.

"20. The gross receipts of St. James' fair amount to $11,300.43."

[15] The institution at High and Low Streets, Baltimore, the purchase of ground for which the Archbishop had arranged a short time before.

The Archbishop took so much interest in this fair that he set down in his journal in detail the receipts obtained at each table. His zeal for the institution continued and his greatest preoccupations were not permitted to interfere with it.

The new head of the archdiocese began a series of sermons at the Cathedral which soon became, in a marked degree, one of the attractions of the city. Non-Catholics as well as Catholics who had known of him from his work in Richmond crowded the pews and aisles to hear him. Rarely he preached on a conversational theme; never with a sensationalism designed to attract the unthinking. He felt that the Gospel itself was strong enough to draw men if it could be presented to them with clearness and simplicity. He made no compromise with truth and palliated no sin because of the mightiness or the lowliness of those who practised it. As he customarily sustained his viewpoint from that of the Apostles, many Protestants found more spiritual sustenance in his discourses than in those of their own pastors.

These sermons were begun soon after he had taken up his duties in Baltimore. His journal contains these entries:

"Dec. 16 [1877]. I preached my first sermon at the Cathedral since my appointment. (Third Sunday in Advent, on 'The Presence of God.')

"31. Preached tonight at the Cathedral."

One of the last acts of Pius IX was to send the pallium to Gibbons. The Archbishop's journal thus records:

"Dec. 10 [1877]. I received a cable dispatch from Rev. Dr. O'Connell, stating that he sailed to-day from Liverpool on the *Germanic*. He bears the pallium to me from the Holy Father.

"22. Dr. O'Connell arrived this morning with the pallium from Rome, with which I am to be invested February 10.

"Jan. 7 [1878]. The death of the Holy Father, Pius IX, was announced about 1 P. M. to-day. Dispatches were kindly forwarded to me from the telegraph office as soon as they came.

"8. About 9 this morning I was officially notified by Cardinal McCloskey of the Pope's death and was requested to communicate by telegraph the same intelligence to all the Archbishops of the country, which I did. [Here is inserted the circular issued by Archbishop Gibbons to the clergy and laity of the archdiocese, giving directions for draping the churches in mourning for thirty days and for Masses and the tolling of bells.]

"Feb. 10. This morning I received the pallium in the presence of a large number of prelates and priests. I was hesitating about proceeding with the ceremony in consequence of the Holy Father's death, but yielded to the judgment of the clergy and several prelates, including Cardinal McCloskey, whom I consulted and who advised me not to postpone the ceremony."

The pallium was placed upon his shoulders by Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, in the Cathedral of Baltimore. That city has been distinguished since the time of Carroll for the imposing character of its ecclesiastical ceremonies and the procession from the archiepiscopal residence to the church embraced a large gathering of the Hierarchy and clergy, not one of whom lived to see the completion of the career of the man whom they had assembled to

honor. There were Corrigan, of Newark, destined to succeed to the See presided over by the venerable McCloskey and to measure his strength against Gibbons in many a controversy regarding policies of the Church in America; Spalding, of Peoria, who was then full of his great project of founding the Catholic University; Kain, of Wheeling, afterward Archbishop of St. Louis; Gross, of Savannah, soon to be Archbishop of Oregon; Foley, of Chicago, close friend of Gibbons from early days; Becker, of Wilmington, Delaware, also bound to him by ties of personal intimacy, and Fitzgerald, of Little Rock, opponent of the decree of Papal infallibility passed by the Vatican Council until the Pope had proclaimed it. Archbishop Williams, of Boston, upholder of the hands of Archbishop Gibbons on many a trying occasion, was the senior in rank at the ceremony. America then had no Apostolic Delegate, but Bishop Conroy, of Ardagh, delegate of the Holy See to Canada, was present.

Such a gathering of leaders of the Catholic faith in the old Cathedral could not fail to be inspired by its surroundings. Bishop Lynch, in his discourse, was moved to rehearse in outline what this Church, assembled in the plenitude of her power, had done for society, truth, virtue and science. He recalled that men still lived who could remember when Carroll was the only American Archbishop, while his successor could now count ten other Archbishops and sixty Bishops whose authority stretched from ocean to ocean. Never, he said, had the Church in America been stronger and truer in faith nor more united for aggressive work in pursuit of her mission. Men were needed to control like skilled pilots the marvel-

CATHEDRAL OF THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, BALTIMORE

ous progress of this undertaking and it was a cause of congratulation that Baltimore had an Archbishop who had already given promise of being a worthy successor of the eminent prelates who had preceded him. Referring to the fact that he was placing upon Archbishop Gibbons the last pallium bestowed by Pius IX, he paid an eloquent tribute to the long labors of that Pontiff.

As the Archbishop rose to reply he gazed, not like a stranger sent into a new field, upon the faces of strangers, not as in Wilmington and Richmond upon men and women who had scarcely heard of him before, but upon a crowded congregation of the leading people of Baltimore, many of whom for years he had counted as his friends. Here at last he was at home; here in this venerable church the greatest work of his life could find expression. Replying to Bishop Lynch, he said:

"The See of Baltimore is indeed replete with historical interest, whether we consider its venerable antiquity as far as that term can be applied to a nation as young as ours, or whether we consider the illustrious line of prelates who have presided over its destinies. The morning of Bishop Carroll's consecration in 1790 brings us back to the dawn of our American history, which followed the dark and eventful night of our American Revolution. Washington sat in the Presidential chair. The elder Adams, Jefferson and Madison were still in the full vigor of active political life; the United States as then constituted had a population of 4,000,000; the City of Baltimore, which now rejoices in its hundreds of thousands of souls, had only 14,500; while the Catholic population of the United States at that time may be estimated at 25,000 souls, or less than one-quarter of the present Catholic population of Baltimore.

"But if this See of Baltimore is venerable for its antiquity, it is still more conspicuous for that bright constellation of prelates who diffused their light over the American Church as well as over this diocese. It is not necessary that I should enlarge upon the greatness of these eminent men; for many of them were personally known to yourselves by familiar acquaintance. . . .

"Otherwise I might speak of Bishop Carroll, who possessed the virtues of a Christian priest with the patriotism of an American citizen. I might speak of a Neale 'whose life was hidden with Christ in God'; of a Marechal, who united in his person the refined manners of a French gentleman with the sturdy virtues of a pioneer prelate; of a Whitfield, who expended a fortune in the promotion of piety and devotion; of the accomplished Eccleston, who presided with equal grace and dignity in the professor's chair, on this throne and at the council of Bishops; of a Kenrick, whose praise is in the churches, and who not only adorned this See by his virtues but also, I might say, illuminated all Christendom by his vast learning.

"I might speak of a Spalding, whose paternal face is to this day stamped upon your memories and affections, whose paternal rule I myself had the privilege of experiencing and whose very name does not fail, even at this day, to evoke feelings of heartfelt emotion; of a Bayley I can simply say that those who knew him best loved him most. His was a soul of honor. He never hesitated to make any sacrifice when God's will and his own conscience demanded."

The Archbishop could not forego the expression in public of the modest doubts of his own capacity which he had recorded in his letter to Archbishop Bayley when the appointment to Baltimore was first offered to him. All who knew him felt that his words bore the stamp

of deep sincerity when he alluded to the "alarm" which he felt when called to that important See, because he was to take up the lines fallen from the hands of the strong man who had preceded him. If he was discouraged, he said, by the sense of the weight of the obligations resting upon him he had also, thanks to God, great grounds of hope and confidence, and this confidence was in the clergy of the diocese. He could say of them as he had said of the priests of Richmond, that they enjoyed an honored reputation among the clergy of the country.

He wished to say that he confided in his brethren of the regular and secular clergy. They would labor together in promoting the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, in vindicating the claims of the Apostolic See and in fostering faith, charity, religion, piety and pure patriotism, which would flourish still more in the favored State of Maryland, "the land of sanctuary and the asylum of civil and religious liberty." He signalized his grasp of local circumstances in the State by giving an especial expression of his confidence in the Jesuits, the "glorious pioneers of the Cross in this region." In conclusion the new Archbishop asked his hearers to pray for the Pontiff whose soul had just been released from the bonds of earth.[16]

[16] *Catholic Mirror*, February 16, 1878.

CHAPTER IX

PRELATE OF THE PEOPLE

Non-Catholics vied with Catholics in applauding the selection of Gibbons for the See of Baltimore. He was the first native of the city to fill the archbishopric, whose associations, more than those of any other in America, were interwoven with the birth of religious liberty and of the Catholic faith and Hierarchy among English speaking people on the continent.

The pioneer days of North Carolina were but a memory now. His task was to strengthen the foundations of the Church in the oldest diocese of America; to multiply her efforts in the city where she had found her most congenial home. At once he became a leading figure in the community, apart from his ecclesiastical office. It had not been the fashion for Catholic Archbishops, nor, indeed, for Bishops of any other faith, to take part in the complex activities of life in a modern American city. They had rather sought seclusion and had regarded the boundary of ecclesiastical duty as one beyond which they ought not to trespass. Mingling with the world had seemed to them to be a contamination or a compromise with the material life.

Not so with Archbishop Gibbons. He was among and of the people. His predecessors in the See had been scarcely known to non-Catholics. He became so well-

known that in a short time he was as familiar to them and perhaps as much beloved by them as by Catholics. On one occasion, when he was passing through the streets with a visitor, they came to the door of a beautiful church from which a large congregation was beginning to emerge. Archbishop Gibbons was saluted so often, and gave so many salutes in return, that his companion remarked:

"You seem to be well acquainted in this parish?"

"Ah!" he replied. "These are our Episcopalian friends."

He felt from the beginning that the lingering trace of distrust of the Catholic Church and Hierarchy by certain elements of the people was due in large part to a lack of understanding. One of his great purposes was to remove this cloud, to bring out the Church into the brilliant light of public observation among Americans, that all might see her mission and the mission of her priesthood as being a spiritual one. He yielded to none in his devotion to American institutions and the government of the United States, and he felt that the influence of the Church was for the perpetuity of law and order and constituted authority. A student of history, an intense admirer of those great figures in American life who had erected a nation of unexampled population and prosperity where once the Indian had roamed through the forest or pushed his canoe along the stream, he was fond of recalling that Catholics had been among the first of the pioneers who had helped to make the United States what it is.

In his own Maryland the faith which he held had

been inseparably linked with the origin of the English province founded by the Calverts on the banks of the Potomac and the Chesapeake. Jesuits had borne aloft the Cross to light the pathway of civilization westward, along the Ohio and the Mississippi and down to the Gulf, near the shores of which part of his youth had been spent.[1] These men of God had left enduring memorials of their heroic sacrifices in the early days.

In the Revolution, Catholics had been eminent in the halls of statesmanship and on the field of battle. None craved more than they the full freedom of religion and civil government which under Washington had been won for the fringe of struggling colonies planted by adventurous Englishmen. They had felt far more than Protestants the restraints of alien rule.

Almost simultaneous with the establishment of the new nation had come the consecration of Carroll to found the Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States. The Church had grown and prospered as the nation had become stronger. In every war and every time of stress her members had been one with their Protestant brethren in their sterling examples of patriotism and devotion to the common country.

Still, in Baltimore, as elsewhere, there was no denying that some distrust of Catholics remained. It had been too deep-seated a feeling to be erased in less than a century. The keynote of Gibbons' attitude was liberality. As a churchman, none was more devoted to his Church;

[1] Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America,* Vol. II, p. 255.

as an American, it was soon evident, none was more devoted to America.

His strong nature was upheld by a deep and simple faith that Providence directly guides the affairs of men; and if his life be scanned for a striking instance to confirm this view, surely none could have been more impressive than the circumstance that the month in which he received the pallium was marked also by the elevation to the Papacy of Leo XIII, with whose career his own was to be so closely linked. These two men of advanced and liberal ideas, each a Catholic of Catholics and at the same time breathing the atmosphere of the times, alert, progressive, knowing how to "take occasion by the hand," labored concurrently in the most important periods of their careers. With a less sympathetic Pontiff the work of Gibbons would have been impossible; and Leo did not hesitate to say again and again that the encouragement and active help which he received from the Archbishop of Baltimore formed one of the potent influences that sustained him amid the hostility and misunderstanding with which he was often beset.

A memorandum in the Archbishop's journal for February 20, 1878, covers the elevation of Leo and also a circumstance which left the way open for the second American Cardinal to be the first from this country to take part in the election of a Pope. He wrote:

"Feb. 20. I received from the Associated Press a telegram announcing the election of Cardinal Pecci as Supreme Pontiff under the name of Leo XIII after the third ballot. . . . Cardinal McCloskey did not arrive

in time for the conclave, having arrived in Queenstown from New York on the 18th.

"March 1. I sent the Holy Father a letter of congratulation."

Gibbons' rare faculty of judging men was again in evidence soon. Dr. Dubreul, the successor of the Archbishop's teacher, the Rev. François L'Homme, as superior of St. Mary's Seminary, died, and for the vacancy he recommended the Rev. Alphonse L. Magnien who, like Bishop Keane, exemplified Gibbons' favorite type of a "rare combination of head and heart." Dr. Magnien was one of the numerous body of men occupying the lesser executive positions in the Catholic Church who, if they had devoted their talents to material pursuits, would be ranked as leaders of exceptional eminence. His influence upon the standards of the American priesthood was broad and lasting. Following are some entries in the Archbishop's journal bearing on this change:

"April 23 [1878]. Very Rev. Dr. Dubreul, Vicar General of the diocese and superior of the seminary, was buried to-day within the seminary grounds, having died on Saturday last, the 20th (Easter Saturday). A very large number of the clergy of the diocese and some from other dioceses, including Bishop Shanahan, were present. I celebrated the Mass and Rt. Rev. J. J. Keane, Bishop-elect of Richmond, preached an appropriate discourse. Dr. Dubreul came to this country in 1850 and in 1860 succeeded Rev. Father L'Homme as Superior of the Seminary. His death is a great loss to the Seminary, to the diocese and to me. R. I. P.

"May 10. I appointed Rev. Father McColgan Vicar General in place of Dr. Dubreul, deceased.

"June 5. I wrote to the Superior General of the Sulpicians in Paris advising the election of Father Magnien as superior of the seminary in Baltimore. The superior general asked me to give my opinion on the subject."

Father Magnien was essentially a practical man with a clear vision and sound judgment; unshaken on questions of principle, but still adapting himself to circumstances with rare tact. Gibbons and he were soon in full accord on the ideals of the priesthood and the methods by which these might be realized through the training at St. Mary's, the mother of so many devoted "ambassadors of Christ." The settled purpose of both was to develop men of God and at the same time more practical men, who would know how to reach out widely with strong personal appeal in the communities which they served.

Magnien fully shared the view of the Archbishop that it was necessary for priests to be more in touch with the times and that they must accomplish this without in the least detracting from the sacred character of their calling. They felt that priests must have a redoubled interest in the temporal as well as in the spiritual affairs of their flocks and must be able to meet them out of church as well as at the altar and in the confessional. They wished them to know the laws, the institutions, the spirit of their country; to share with liberal minds and active help in movements for social betterment, for economic progress, for anything that would lift men.

There is a great gap between this ideal which they did so much to set before American priests and the sensation-monger who clutches at merely transient events as material for constructing something to draw a congregation, which might be repelled by his shallowness and bigotry if he trod the even path of the Gospel.

For more than a quarter of a century Dr. Magnien exercised a deep influence upon the Church in America. He was the constant companion and adviser of the head of the See of Baltimore during that long period, being one of a small body of men on the order of a cabinet of state whom the Archbishop was in the habit of consulting. At the death of Magnien in December, 1902, the Archbishop, who had then long been a Cardinal, wrote the preface for a memorial volume on the priest and teacher in which he said that Magnien had been "the half of my soul." He paid his tribute thus:

"For five and twenty years I was associated with Dr. Magnien by the ties of unbroken friendship and of almost daily intercourse. . . . He had the happy faculty of grasping the salient points of a question with intuitive vision. His judgment of men and measures was rarely at fault. He was in the habit of giving me his estimate of the ethical and moral standards and characteristic traits of the newly ordained priests; he would even foreshadow their future careers as developed in the labors of the ministry. The subsequent lives of these clergymen usually verified the forecasts of the sagacious observer. . . . I have been so accustomed to consult the venerable abbé on important questions and to lean upon him in every emergency that his death is a rude shock to me

and I feel as if I had lost a right arm. He was, indeed, the half of my soul." [2]

Archbishop Gibbons, with his zest for the picturesque and the historic, thoroughly enjoyed a group of experiences in southern Maryland which come to every successor of Carroll. In the counties of that part of the State, whose traditions reach far back, there is an aspect of religious life which carries a trace of the times when baronial estates were set up in the lofty forests and on the brilliant green plains of that favored region under the aegis of the lords proprietor, whose powers, secured by charter, made them viceroys of the wilderness.[3] Upon their ample acres the priest was a man of power and leadership second only to the master of the manor, and the Sunday Mass in the church or chapel was the principal social as well as religious event of the week.

The Calverts themselves were rural barons and in the earlier stages of their colonial project they looked to a reproduction of their own social life in the new commonwealth which they planted. The unexpectedly independent course of the early assemblies at St. Mary's interfered with a full realization of this aim; but it was true that, despite the violence of the Cromwellian period and the grievous discriminations in religion which followed the accession of William III, Maryland was the only colony in English speaking America in which wealthy Catholics founded large estates and handed them down from father to son.[4]

[2] *Very Rev. A. L. Magnien, a Memorial,* pp. 5–8.
[3] Charter of Maryland, Scharf, Vol. I, pp. 58, 59.
[4] Burton, *Life and Times of Bishop Chaloner,* Vol. II, pp. 128, 130.

In the rural churches it was and still is a novel sight when the cavalcade of gentry assembles for High Mass and the general interchange of social amenities. Slaves as well as masters went to the services before the Civil War, the negroes occupying seats in galleries set apart for them and still reserved, in some cases, for their emancipated descendants. The blacks were instructed and trained with patient persistence in the practises of the Catholic faith, whose ministrations contributed to securing good treatment for them and making them contented with their lot. It was a common saying that "a Catholic negro is a good negro." The confession and penance, as well as the sacred character which they willingly acknowledged in the priesthood, exercised a powerful restraining influence upon them. While the Church in no sense sympathized with slavery as an institution, submission to constituted authority was taught to the negro, and the responsibility of exercising authority with mildness and justice was impressed upon the master.

Nature and training had made Gibbons an apostle who delighted in going from one community to another, inspiring pastors and flocks with new zeal in the cause of religion, buying a lot for a church here, aiding a building fund there, preaching, confirming and meeting the people in their homes. In Southern Maryland that part of his disposition found full scope. He wrote in his journal:

"May 12 [1878]. Sunday; I administered confirmation and preached at White Marsh Church, Prince George's County, having arrived the evening before by

(the) Pope's Creek Road [5] from Calvert Station [6] at 4 P. M. The nearest station to White Marsh is Collington, distant about two and a half miles. The church at White Marsh (or rather the mission) is one of the oldest in the State and country. Sunday evening I paid a visit by invitation to Governor Bowie, who lives about four miles off."

After this visitation the Archbishop returned to Baltimore, charmed with the hospitality which he had received and which at that time preserved almost completely the atmosphere of the ante-bellum South. He soon set out again for the same region, as his journal shows:

"June 7. I reached St. Inigoes, St. Mary's County, with Father Curtis, with a view of administering confirmation throughout the county. We drove to the site of old St. Mary's town, about six miles distant, which was the original seat of government of the Maryland colony. St. Inigoes is one of the oldest if not the oldest church in the country, or rather the present church is built near the site of the oldest church. The place is replete with sacred traditions. Across the St. Mary's River is Rosecroft, illustrated by the pen of J. P. Kennedy in his 'Rob of the Bowl,' [7] which I can see from the porch of this house of the Jesuit Fathers where I am staying.

"9. I preached and confirmed at St. Inigoes sixty-four persons, of whom three were converts. The congregation was very large and the weather delightful.

"10. An entertainment was given today to the members of the congregation, the proceeds being devoted to

[5] Railroad.
[6] Baltimore.
[7] A novel which was widely read in the middle of the nineteenth century.

the new Church of St. Michael, now in course of construction near Point Lookout.[8] I addressed the assemblage before the dinner, which was followed by an impromptu tournament."[9]

Facilities of transportation in Southern Maryland were then scanty and the Archbishop did not lack adventure in his journey. He thus chronicled one of his experiences:

"June 12. After spending last night at Mrs. Keys' we went to St. George's, where I preached and confirmed thirty, including six converts. (The) same evening we drove to Mr. Greenwell's at Lady's Chapel, eight miles distant. On our way we had an adventure. One of the horses harnessed to the carriage could be induced only with the greatest difficulty to ascend the hills. Finally we came to a creek about four hundred feet wide. When the carriage reached the centre of the creek he obstinately refused to move. After patiently sitting in the carriage for an hour hoping for something to turn up we saw a man at a distance whom we hailed and who procured us a boat in which Father Curtis and myself came ashore. The refractory horse was unharnessed in the water and the carriage drawn ashore. Our young driver was very exultant because he did not once swear during the long ordeal."

On July 1 of the same year the Archbishop was the guest of Governor Carroll at Carroll Manor, in Howard County, on which estate, as a young student at St.

[8] In St. Mary's County.

[9] Southern Maryland is one of the few districts in the United States where large public entertainments of a novel character called tournaments are still given. The knights, dressed gaily in bright colors, tilt with long and sharply pointed lances at rings suspended from posts. Some of the customs of medieval chivalry survive in these entertainments.

Charles' College, near-by, he had tramped the leafy roads for diversion in the intervals of his preparation for the priesthood. He attended on that occasion the first commencement of his alma mater since his elevation to the archbishopric.

CHAPTER X

BROADENING PUBLIC LIFE

Washington being in the diocese of Baltimore, Gibbons made several visitations there soon after he became Archbishop. The inclusion of the National Capital in the See had seemed to the other Archbishops since Carroll to impose the necessity of vigilance in preserving aloofness from public affairs. But Gibbons had more than a diocesan mind, even more than a national mind. His was a world mind and at last it could begin to reach out fully when he had been installed in a post of high authority. His natural breadth of ideas had found scope in the Second Plenary Council and the Vatican Council, though their expression on those occasions had been restricted on account of his youth. In North Carolina and Virginia circumstances had imposed a further restraint upon him. Now as Archbishop of Baltimore he was free to stand revealed as his true self.

His relations with Presidents of the United States soon began through natural processes. The Archbishop of Baltimore is a member of important boards and bureaus of the Church and Gibbons became greatly interested in the work of one of these which has to do with missions among the Indians. This was the cause which brought him in contact with Hayes at the White House in the same year in which he received the pallium; and

Admiral Ammen, a retired naval officer, whose home was in Maryland not far from Washington, was the means of establishing the contact. Gibbons wrote in his journal:

"Jan. 3 [1878]. I visited by invitation Admiral Ammen, of Ammendale, thirteen miles from Washington, with a view of inspecting a lot of five acres which he proposes to donate for a church. The Admiral has an interesting family of four children and is a convert. He is a particular friend of ex-President Grant, from whom he had just received an affectionate letter (from Europe) in which he playfully referred to the fact that the Admiral had saved his (the President's) life from drowning when both were lads.

"Aug. 14. I wrote to Admiral Ammen in reply to a letter from him stating that the President would be pleased to see me in regard to the Catholic Indians. The President acknowledged the superiority of the Catholic missionaries over all others in benefitting the Indians."

The company of the popular and patriotic Archbishop was sought by Catholics of prominence in Washington at dinner parties, at which he met many of the leaders in all departments of the Government. He continued to attend these dinners at intervals throughout his life and soon acquired an exceptional acquaintance among influential men at the capital. The first of the entertainments of that kind at which he was present was held at the house of a New York Senator early in 1878. The Archbishop thus noted it:

"March 26. On Monday (the) 25th, I dined at U. S. Senator Kernan's (in Washington) with himself and family, Senators Bayard, Johnston, of Virginia, and Stephenson, of Kentucky, and Mr. R. T. Marriott."

On the same day he wrote:

"Among those that I confirmed in Georgetown was the widow of President Tyler."

He met President Hayes on subsequent occasions, as shown by this paragraph in his journal:

"July 6 [1879]. I wrote to Cardinal Simeoni of the good feeling which now exists between the civil authorities and the Church, manifested by the President and cabinet attending our college commencement, by the Governor doing likewise and by the lately enacted law remitting to a great extent the tax on church property."

In common with all Americans, Archbishop Gibbons felt the deep shock when President Garfield was shot and fatally wounded by an assassin July 2, 1881. He promptly issued a circular letter to the clergy of the diocese expressing his horror at the deed and directing prayers for the President's recovery. The circular read:[1]

"ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

"BALTIMORE, July 5, 1881.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR:—

"You in common with all others have heard with amazement and horror of the late attempted assassination of His Excellency the President of the United States. It is scarcely possible to imagine a deed more appalling to men or more iniquitous before God; for if it is such a crime to slay even a private citizen, what an enormity it is to attempt the death of one who, while representing the whole nation, is also as to matters temporal the highest vice-gerent of God himself in the land? And the act of the assassin is the more heinous since he had neither a

[1] Archiepiscopal archives preserved in the Baltimore Cathedral; referred to on subsequent pages as Cathedral archives, Baltimore.

private grievance to avenge nor the semblance of a public wrong to redress.

"Our detestation of the wretch who has stricken down our head is yet increased when we add to the official dignity of the sufferer his accessibility and affability to all and his committing, like all his predecessors, his personal safety entirely to the good will and good sense of those over whom he presides. Well may we stand aghast when in this crime we see the mischief of which a single individual is capable when he has once ceased to fear God, to value man and to dread the consequences of giving free scope to his own passions.

"In the face, then, of this most hideous deed, we are called upon to express our loathing of the crime and our deep sympathy for him whom this crime has placed in such great suffering and such imminent peril. For while the Catholic Church is happily above all parties and is far from the wish to take to herself the decision of the very transient and as a rule not very momentous questions as to which these parties are at issue, yet none more than the Catholic Church inculcates respect for every duly constituted authority or more reprobates or threatens everything by which such authority is assailed.

"You will, therefore, with all the power at your command, urge your people to pray during Mass and at other times for the recovery of his Excellency and on Sunday next, should he then still survive, you will say in his behalf, before or after Mass and together with all your people, the Litany of the Saints, as at once entreating God to spare his life and also as making an act of expiation for a crime which pertains to us as a nation and not only concerns but tarnishes us all.

"Very faithfully,

"Your servant in Christ

"JAMES,

"Archbishop of Baltimore."

The Archbishop instructed his secretary, Father Curtis, to send to Mrs. Garfield a copy of the circular with the following note:

"*To Mrs. James A. Garfield.*

"MADAM:

"I am instructed by his Grace, the Archbishop of Baltimore, to transmit to you the accompanying circular addressed by him to the clergy of his diocese and at the same time to express to you his profound sympathy with you in the sore affliction which has so suddenly and so unrighteously befallen you.

"In assuring you of his sympathy he speaks not for himself only, but for all Catholics. We all pray that God may support you in your suspense and in due time give relief to you and to the whole nation in his Excellency's recovery.

"I have the honor to be, madam, with great respect,

"Your faithful servant in Christ,

"A. A. CURTIS,

"Secretary to the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore."

Further developments are indicated thus in the Archbishop's journal:

"July 5 [1881]. The President, on being informed that I have issued the circular, said to Col. Rockwell: 'Bless the good will of the people'; and Mrs. Garfield in a note to Mrs. Admiral Dahlgren, expressed her thanks and promised to show the circular to the President on his recovery.

"August 1. I wrote to Cardinal Simeoni an account of the attempted assassination, referring to the letters of the American Bishops on the subject and the gratitude for the Catholic sympathy and prayers."

After the death of President Garfield on September 19, the Archbishop took occasion in a sermon in the Baltimore Cathedral to answer the doubts as to the efficacy of prayer which had been raised in the minds of some by the fatal ending of the President's illness despite the united petitions of the nation. This sermon attracted marked attention, not only on account of the tension of the times, but on account of its general application and the source from which it came. Following are extracts which illustrate the tenor of it:

"Has not the death of the President, notwithstanding the prayers that were offered for his recovery, tempted some of you to doubt the efficacy of prayer? Will not some one say in his heart, as a certain person said to me: 'I have prayed for the life of the President and prayed in vain; my family prayed for him; this congregation prayed for him; the City of Baltimore prayed for him; the State prayed for him; the nation prayed for him and prayed in vain. How can you reconcile the rejection of our prayers with the promise of our Lord when He says 'Whatsoever you shall ask the Father in my name shall be granted unto you'?

"You see I put the objection as strongly as possible. I answer, notwithstanding your objection, that these words of our Savior are most true: 'Ask and you shall receive; seek and you shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you.' No good prayer ever goes unanswered. If a single drop of water is never unhallowed, still less is the smallest prayer uttered in vain that ascends to the throne of Grace.

"And now in reply I affirm that God answers our prayers in one of two ways—either directly or indirectly. Sometimes he grants us the direct and specified objects

of our petitions: sometimes he denies us the direct object of our prayers but grants us something equivalent or even better than we ask for. Just as a prudent father withholds from his child a dangerous toy and gives him instead something harmless and useful, so our heavenly Father gives us what to him seems best and our wisdom is but folly compared to the infinite wisdom of God.

"*First:* In regard to the President, if God in response to your prayers did not save his life he has done more. He has saved the life and preserved the peace of the nation. And the life of the nation is of more value than the life of any individual.

"*Second:* He was pleased to prolong his life for nearly three months after he received the fatal wound. Had he died immediately from the wound, what terrible consequences might have followed! So intense at the moment was public feeling, so strong (though most unjust) was the suspicion aroused against the members of a certain political party, so bitter was the animosity engendered by these suspicions that if the President had immediately died it needed but a spark to ignite the flame. The first assassination might have been followed by others and anarchy and confusion and sedition might have reigned supreme for a time. But God mercifully spared his life till the excitement subsided, when cool reason would regain her throne and men could plainly see that the assassination was the work of one man alone, having no collusion with anybody else.

"*Third:* As another fruit of our prayers, God has inspired the nation with a greater abhorrence of assassination and a greater reverence for the Chief Magistrate of the country.

"*Fourth:* Again, as another fruit of our prayers during the terrible ordeal through which we have passed, party spirit has yielded to the nobler and healthier sentiment of patriotism. Men forgot for the time being that

they were of the North or the South; they forgot that they were Stalwarts or Conservatives, Republicans or Democrats, administration or anti-administration men. They remembered only that they were Americans.

"Let us remember that the chief object of prayer is not to ask and receive favors of God. That were a narrow, selfish consideration. God forbid that He should always grant us according to the desires of our hearts: this would be abandoning us to our own folly and the withdrawing of His providence from us. We are always safe in leaving the result of our prayers to His discretion. The primary motive of prayer is to acknowledge our filial dependence on God and His fatherly care of us.

"May God bless and preserve our beloved country! While Presidents and administrations pass away may our Government live and prosper! May it always rest on the solid foundations of law and order and justice and the devout recognition of an overruling Providence! That is the only sure foundation for its permanent duration."

In the autumn of the same year Gibbons issued what was perhaps the first official direction by a prelate of the Catholic Church in conformity with the national observance of Thanksgiving Day. That festival was then far less widely celebrated than it has since come to be; in parts of the country it was almost ignored. Its Puritan origin was not relished by some, and clergymen of various creeds whose ways were not Puritan ways were disposed to pay scant attention to it.

Not until the time of Lincoln, indeed, did the custom begin of issuing an annual presidential proclamation exhorting the whole body of the people to demonstrate in unison gratitude for the blessings of the year. Lin-

coln's precedent, born of the Civil War [2] and associated in some minds with its strife and passions, excited revulsion as well as assent. One of the strong influences which contributed to the unified national feeling on this subject that finally developed was the example of Archbishop Gibbons.

On November 14, 1881, he issued a circular to the clergy and laity of the archdiocese of Baltimore, which became a model for other Catholic Bishops who subsequently joined in the program that he initiated. It read:

"St. Paul, in his epistle to Timothy, desires that 'prayers intercessions and thanksgivings be made for kings and for all that are in high station, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all purity and chastity; for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God Our Savior.' If the Apostle felt it to be an imperative duty to pray for the welfare of his rulers of the time, who were manifestly hostile to the Christian religion, surely it behooves us to pray with alacrity for the continued prosperity of our beloved country, when we recall to mind the many advantages which we enjoy as Christians and citizens under our system of government. . . .

"We should pray for all our functionaries, both state and national, that they may discharge the important trusts confided in them with a due and conscientious regard for the interests of the people.

"We should also give thanks to the 'Giver of all good gifts' not only for the blessings we have received from His hands, but also for the tranquillity and peace we enjoy and for the harvest with which the land has been generally favored.

"Although the Church every day through the voice of her ministers returns thanks to God for His manifold

[2] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. IV, pp. 320, 354.

gifts, there are special times and occasions when we should render to Him a more public and solemn recognition for the spiritual and temporal favors which He vouchsafes to us. A fitting occasion will be presented to us for offering to God the homage of our adoration and gratitude on Thursday, November 24, a day specially recommended for public and national thanksgiving by the Chief Magistrate of the nation.

"You are therefore invited to exhort the members of your congregation to assemble in church on that day and to assist in Mass to be celebrated in an hour which you will deem most convenient; and at the close of the Mass, the prayer of Archbishop Carroll for the authorities will be recited."

The Archbishop himself delivered the Thanksgiving sermon in the Baltimore Cathedral, in which he highly commended the national custom to all Americans without distinction of creed, saying:

"It is a source of great satisfaction to every devout Christian that the chief executive of our nation, as well as the governors of the States, is accustomed once a year to invite the people of the United States to return thanks to God for His blessings to the country. The public act of our chief magistrate in proclaiming the supreme dominion and providence of our Creator cannot fail to exert a salutary influence on our citizens at large, and to secure for us a continuance of divine favors. Let each of us, also, beloved brethren, be diligent in offering thanks to God for the individual blessings we have received, and then we may hope to be more abundantly refreshed at the fountain of grace, for the prayer of thanksgiving is a heavenly stream that flows into the ocean of Divine love and returns to us again in showers of benediction."

Although Gibbons' mind and sympathies could not be

cramped within any locality, he had cherished from early days a deep affection for his native city of Baltimore; and the kindly and hospitable people who formed a large part of its population found almost immediately upon his induction into the See that he was ready at all times to extend wholehearted and potent cooperation in their public projects. Previously they had felt hesitancy in calling upon the Archbishop of Baltimore, or any Protestant cleric among them, to participate in such affairs. They had felt that the tradition of these offices was ecclesiastical only, and that the attempt to trespass upon it would be an unwarranted intrusion. The mass of the people of the city had seen little of the men who presided over the archdiocese. They had held the office in distant deference as something detached from the material affairs of the community.

Gibbons brought a reversal of this. When Baltimoreans prepared with a degree of public spirit rarely found even in an American city for the observance in 1880 of its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary as a municipality, they soon found that he was in hearty accord with their plans. They were no less surprised than delighted when he issued a circular to the clergy of the city which he directed to be read in the churches on Sunday, October 10, of that year, advising that Catholic organizations should take an active part in the parades and other festivities to be held and that the clergy and the authorities of the parochial schools should march with them. At the same time he exhorted the people to "avoid all sinful excess" during the celebration. Extracts from the circular are:

"The Catholics of Baltimore have already, as you are aware, given to their fellow citizens unmistakable proofs of their readiness to cooperate with them in making the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of this great and beautiful city a complete success. This is as it should be, for the approaching festivities will be a most fitting occasion for us to realize the many advantages which we enjoy in this community, to thank God for all His graces, especially for the precious blessing of civil and religious liberty, as well as to honor the memory of those farseeing men who founded Baltimore, to whose wisdom and moderation its citizens are, in a great measure, indebted under God for the freedom and prosperity which they now enjoy. . . .

"But above all we should render our thanks to Him who is the Giver of every good gift, who in His mercy has cast our lot in a city founded on the land of the Catholic Carrolls, whose Cathedral may not unjustly be called the mother of episcopal Sees within the bounds of the United States, a city whose inhabitants in the past have witnessed the most interesting events of Catholic history in this country." [3]

Catholic organizations were especially numerous in Baltimore and the host of them which responded to the Archbishop's appeal contributed greatly to swell both in numbers and in picturesqueness the parades of the celebration. Leading men of the city, who organized the series of public spectacles which marked the occasion, never ceased to remember with gratitude the active and cordial help of the Archbishop. A *Te Deum* was sung in the Catholic churches of Baltimore on the Sunday following the civic observance.

[3] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

An entry in Gibbons' journal in that year was significant of coming problems that were to develop in the Church. It read:

"April 10. [1880]. Wrote to same (Cardinal Simeoni) in relation to a charge that the German people were sometimes neglected by Bishops in this country and in relation to the expediency of removing females from our choirs. I stated that the charge was untrue as far as my information extended and I declared the removal of ladies from our choirs in my judgment impractical and inexpedient."

Catholic Bishops being required to go to Rome every ten years, unless excused by the Pope, Archbishop Gibbons made a visit *ad limina* in 1880. It was his first trip to the Eternal City since the Vatican Council ten years before, and was marked by his first meeting with Leo XIII as Pontiff. Leaving Baltimore April 20, he sailed from New York to Liverpool and proceeded by way of London and Paris to Rome, where he spent twenty-three days. He had two "delightful audiences of the Holy Father" (thus he wrote in his journal), and a number of conferences with Cardinals Simeoni and Nina, who were particularly concerned with the affairs of the Church in America. Cordiality met him on every hand, for the new aspect which he was giving to the life and activities of a Catholic Archbishop in the United States was well known in Rome and had the complete approval of the far sighted Leo.

That Pontiff, who had then sat for two years in the chair of Peter, was beginning to formulate definitely the enlightened and liberalizing policies which distinguished

his years in the Papacy. His thoughts were the thoughts of Gibbons. His resolutions were the resolutions of Gibbons. Each in his own sphere penetrated with clear view the clouds of misunderstanding which then obscured the problems of the world to so many in high places. They shared boldness of view and quickness of decision.

In Europe the Church had been compelled to deal with governments, for only through governments, as political society was then constituted, could she reach the people, the salvation of whose souls was her overwhelming concern. But now there were the beginnings of a new alignment. It was less necessary for the Church to consider kings and prime ministers and various powerful individuals whose entrenched rights proceeded from birth or tradition. True, in much of Europe parliaments were feeble and the people, groping half blindly in the exercise of their new powers, fell into divisions which grievously obstructed them in the realization of their better political and social hopes. But for Leo it was not necessary to wait until the transformation of the political setting was complete so that all might discern its outlines. His was the gift of vision and Gibbons' was the gift of vision. To the Pontiff it was clear that in the providence of God the Church must now appeal to peoples, and in a broad sense he aimed with unwavering policy to cooperate with the great democracies of America and France in promoting her expansion. His ear was ready for the enlightened advice of Gibbons.

Like the Archbishop of Baltimore, he felt that the wall which had obstructed the Church in the United

States must be permitted to stand no longer. It was neither his wish nor that of Gibbons to combat prejudice by merely denouncing it. They preferred to show by luminous example which would guide the Church on a new pathway that a Catholic was no less an American because he was a Catholic—no less a citizen in the highest and truest sense because his supreme spiritual shepherd on earth was the Pope.

Gibbons took new hope and heart from his conferences with Leo. The time was ripe for his work. When others might doubt, delay or obstruct he felt that he might proceed with sure step, looking to the wisdom and statesmanship of the Pontiff with a reliance which would not fail him.

Refreshing himself with a leisurely trip homeward, he stopped at Florence, Bologna, Verona and Innsbruck and witnessed the Passion Play at Oberammergau. Then he proceeded to Munich, Mayence, Cologne, Amsterdam, Brussels and Paris. Crossing to England, he visited Lulworth Castle, where Archbishop Carroll had been consecrated for the work that had now fallen into his hands and which he was resolved to carry on in a vastly greater field with the spirit which on the part of the first incumbent of the See of Baltimore had won the unstinted admiration of Washington.

The great Victorian, Newman, was then at the summit of his fame, basking in the full ecclesiastic favor which brightened his later years. Archbishop Gibbons could not forego a pilgrimage to the oratory of Edgbaston, near Birmingham, whence the light of that master shone upon the English speaking world. He reached Birmingham

on his own birthday, July 23, having been invited to dine with the Cardinal, but, arriving too late, breakfasted at Edgbaston the next day. Gibbons found Newman exhibiting the simplicity of true greatness, living abstemiously and quietly. His cassock was a plain one of black and his manners were as unostentatious as his attire. The fountain of his brilliant conversation flowed freely and the American prelate was charmed to discern in his rounded sentences the same literary quality which on the printed page was fascinating the world.

Newman talked freely with Gibbons of his then recent trial on the charge of libeling the ex-priest Achilli and of the prejudice which had beset him throughout the progress of the case. The English Cardinal remarked that Gladstone had asked his permission to propose a resolution in the House of Commons apologizing to him for the injury done but that he had declined this method of vindication, preferring to trust to the impartial justice which would come in time.

Gibbons bore away as treasures of the interview copies of several of Newman's works autographed in the hand that had held the pen from which their limpid sentences had flowed. He remarked upon the "wealth of anecdote and narrative" that came so abundantly from Newman.

Soon after his return to America, he was stricken by a personal bereavement. His mother, whom he had often visited in her declining years and the struggles of whose untimely widowhood he vividly remembered, died at the home of his sister.[4] His journal of the following day contains this simple entry:

[4] Mrs. Swarbrick, in New Orleans, May 7, 1883.

"My dear mother died last night at the age of eighty years. May she rest in peace."

Amid the greatest pressure of his career in the ecclesiastical world he had never ceased to be solicitous of his mother's welfare. Her strength of character had been one of his most potent inspirations and he returned her affection with a degree of filial devotion seldom observed in the great or the small. Family ties remained strong with him throughout his life. He continued to visit New Orleans every Lent as the guest of his brother, John T. Gibbons, who had risen to wealth as a grain merchant. There, amid peaceful domestic scenes, his devotions of the season were uninterrupted by the strain of public duty.

The uncertainty of human events in another direction was strikingly illustrated by an experience of the Archbishop March 4, 1885, when Washington was resounding with the acclamations of a multitude assembled at the inauguration of President Cleveland, following the exciting campaign in which Mr. Blaine had been defeated. His journal for that day has the following entry:

"Mrs. Walker (James G. Blaine's sister) was buried from the Cathedral. Mr. Blaine was present. I was assisted in the sanctuary by Father Curtis and preached."

Mr. Blaine had become his warm friend. On the occasion of a subsequent visit to the Archbishop, that striking figure in American politics whom admiring ones loved to call "the plumed knight," expressed himself as profoundly impressed with the vanity of earthly glory, whose chief prize in his eyes had been snatched from him. He enumerated on his fingers Presidents who had

been weighed down by the cares of state and whose public careers had been cut short suddenly by death.

The Archbishop had observed with interest that Mr. Blaine's failure to obtain the coveted post of chief magistrate had been due to the ill-judged speech of a Protestant clergyman [5] who had declared him to be the champion against a party identified with "rum, Romanism and rebellion." Gibbons' comment upon this was that the Republican candidate would have been elected "were it not for the ill-timed speech of a fanatical preacher." [6]

The anarchist riots in Chicago, May 4, 1886, profoundly moved the Archbishop with a sense of danger to the country. Preaching five days later at the dedication of the Church of the Holy Cross, Baltimore, a large number of whose members were of German birth, he denounced anarchy, socialism and nihilism with a vigor that foreshadowed the powerful blows which he dealt later to political radicalism in all its forms. He said:

"The Government of the United States is a government for the benefit of the people. Strangers from every part of Europe are welcomed to our shores. Like the sun that shines over all, the Government of our country sheds its genial rays upon all classes without regard to race, nationality or religion. The glorious banner of our country protects alike the humble and the poor, the mighty and the rich. Every man in the United States has an opportunity for carving for himself an honest livelihood and many have opportunities of acquiring independent fortunes.

"The German population of Baltimore forms an important, conservative and influential element of our peo-

[5] The Rev. Dr. Burchard.
[6] Sermon in the Baltimore Cathedral.

ple and the same may be said of the German population throughout the United States as well as that of other nationalities. They contribute largely to the development of the resources of this country and daily augment our material prosperity. But, as the events of the last few days in Chicago have shown, there exists in this country a small but turbulent element composed of men who boldly preach the gospel of anarchy, socialism and nihilism. These men are pirates preying upon the industry, commerce and trade of the country. Their favorite weapon is dynamite. Their mission is to destroy rather than to build.

"Instead of strengthening the hands of the Government that upholds and protects them, they are bent upon its destruction. Instead of blessing the mother who opens her arms to welcome them, they insult and strike her. If these men had their way, industry and trade would be paralyzed; honest labor would be unrewarded and gaunt poverty would stalk over the land.

"They have no conception of true liberty. They would retain for themselves a large share of freedom, leaving to others only a morsel.

"The citizens of the United States enjoy the amplest liberty, but it is a liberty of law, of order and of authority. Liberty without law degenerates into license. We have no standing armies in this country and I am glad of it [7] for such armies are a great strain upon the resources of the country, and necessarily condemn large numbers of men to a life of forced idleness. The strongest force of a nation lies in the laws of the land judiciously administered, when these laws are sustained by healthy public opinion. The strongest bulwark of a nation is found in the intelligence, virtue and patriotism of its native and adopted citizens. So long as they love

[7] Standing army of the United States was then only a nucleus unit of 25,000 men.

their country and are ready to die for her, if necessary, we will have nothing to fear from anarchism, socialism and nihilism. Socialism is a foreign plant, a noxious exotic which grows only in dark places and withers and decays under the genial sun and atmosphere of the United States."

Having been brought near the brink of death from yellow fever in his youth in New Orleans, he sought assiduously to assist the sufferers from another visitation of that pestilence with which the city was afflicted in 1878. On September 4 of that year, he addressed a letter to the clergy of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, directing that a collection be taken in all the churches for the fever sufferers in Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee. Deploring some of the methods of the Federal quarantine, he declared that the prevalence of the fever was aggravated by the "blockade which is enforced against these cities (New Orleans, Vicksburg and Memphis), which places them in a state of isolation, which has paralyzed trade and commerce, has thrown out of employment hundreds who were able to work, and has reduced them to a condition of forced idleness. While we contemplate the sad spectacle of so many faithful priests and sisters and volunteer nurses, dying like brave sentinels at their posts, victims of heroic charity; while we behold so many hundreds of our fellow beings of every race and religion swept away by the poisonous pestilence, we should be doubly grateful to God that we are preserved from so dreadful a visitation, and that we are in the enjoyment of social and commercial relations with the outside world." [8]

[8] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

CHAPTER XI

THE VERSATILE REACH

The range of public activities in which Archbishop Gibbons showed a willingness to join in Baltimore was nothing short of amazing, whether it be considered in comparison with his own more intimate preoccupations or on the basis of precedent. A ready response to one appeal soon brought another from a different source, for groups of people naturally felt complimented by his versatile and comprehensive perception of their wholesome material interests. Unsparing of himself in labors and commitments of every kind, he refused aid to no good cause, whether it was for the benefit of Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile.

Thus he soon became more thoroughly identified in the public mind with the general interests of the city than any other of its citizens. Although that position was unique for a churchman, it seemed in his case to be the most natural thing in the world. It was, in truth, an expression of his own disposition, for none who knew him could doubt that in the broadest sense his life was for all humanity.

At first the demands of the community on the Archbishop were in the line of his ecclesiastical calling. He was besought to offer prayer on formal public occasions as Baltimore's foremost cleric, and he never hesitated to

comply when he could do so, reciting a simple but eloquent petition in which all could join, and ending with the Lord's Prayer, which many repeated in reverent unison with him. Possessing the rare gift of using the right word at the right time, he could speak upon any subject with direct simplicity to his fellow citizens. Brushing aside all distinctions of creed and rank in common effort with others, he sat on public platforms with Methodists, Jews and Quakers. None spoke with more sincere patriotism, more progressive spirit. Governor and Mayor regarded him as a friend and leaned upon his advice.

On a social occasion, he could be charming. When Baltimoreans have some particularly important business to transact, it is their custom to have a banquet. It is characteristic of them that some of their greatest inspirations to public achievement have been born amid the gastronomic delights of the diamond-back terrapin and the canvas-back duck. It grew to be a familiar spectacle to see the Archbishop at the banquet board in the place of honor, at the right of the presiding officer. He seldom remained to the end, and took no part in the purely convivial aspect of the gathering. When he spoke, it was as a patriot no less than a preacher. His habit of gracefully fitting into his surroundings was nowhere more conspicuous than at the social board.

On the streets of the city his slender, graceful form in clerical black, relieved by a touch of purple, became familiar to passers-by as he took long walks, swinging a cane and chatting in animated fashion with a companion. The habit of indulging in this form of exercise and diversion had persisted from the care-free years when

pedestrian excursions were compulsory for him as a student at St. Charles' College. As in those days of his early manhood, he often had as a companion a student who was preparing for the priesthood.

This young man, usually from St. Mary's Seminary, only a short distance from the archiepiscopal residence, was sometimes inclined to be overwhelmed and confused by the honor of being selected to walk with the Archbishop, but was soon put at ease by Gibbons, who was consummately able to be all things to all men. It seemed to distress him when any one appeared to be constrained in his presence, but constraint vanished under the influence of his ready tact. The student found in the simple, kindly, unaffected cordiality of the prelate a means of forgetting their disparity in rank.

They chatted at times almost as boys, for the Archbishop's heart was essentially youthful, and he loved the frankness that bubbles in the period of life before heavy responsibility imposes its burden of caution. The student came to feel that he was talking with one of the gentlest and most sympathetic of men to whom nothing human was foreign.

It was not unusual that before they had progressed far the young man found himself telling the Archbishop of his home State, perhaps far distant, the condition of the Catholic Church there, the attitude of the people toward the Church and general social and political conditions. These impressions were what Gibbons was particularly seeking, for he had habitually adopted such means of obtaining information not only in the case of seminarians with whom he walked, but with many others with whom

he came in contact, thus building up his comprehensive knowledge of men and things in his own country. So tactfully did he draw out the student that, unless advised in advance by some one who had undergone a similar experience, the young man usually did not know that he had done more than entertain with random conversation his ecclesiastical superior in a brief period of relaxation of mind.

The Archbishop thus formed estimates of young priests which he turned to rarely good account in assigning them to work and promoting them after they had finished their studies. Bishops *in petto* disclosed themselves to him on these walks. One of his greatest services to the Church in America was the elevation through his instrumentality to her higher posts of a group of men who have made the Hierarchy in this country a far stronger body than it had ever been before his time.

The excursions were so long that the student was often thoroughly tired out at the conclusion, for in those days the Archbishop thought it nothing exceptional to cover four or five miles in the hour and a half usually allotted for his afternoon walk. Traversing the streets at a rapid pace, usually with his head bent as if in thought, he was yet able to discern everything in his vicinity. At first dozens, and in later years hundreds of people in all walks of life raised their hats and saluted him on terms of acquaintance as he swung along. Now and then he stopped to chat. His memory for names and faces was often amazing to friends who saluted him, as he spoke of family affairs and personal details which might have seemed insignificant to many.

With a wholesome naturalness, he would pause now and then to observe the progress of street incidents. An observer related that on one occasion in a part of the city far removed from the archiepiscopal house he once saw a group of boys angrily disputing over a baseball game, and in the midst of them a slender man seeking to calm them and arbitrate their dispute. The angry voices subsided; peace was restored, smiles replaced the scowls that had darkened the youthful countenances, and the game proceeded as before. As the observer drew nearer, he was amazed to find that the peacemaker had been the Archbishop, who serenely resumed his walk when the incident had been disposed of.

Among those with whom the Archbishop sometimes paused to chat in a friendly way were Protestant ministers, and as his years in the diocese increased the number of these grew to large proportions. The unaffected cordiality of such interviews produced profound impressions that often led to closer acquaintanceship, and to the advice of the Archbishop being sought on many matters by not a few clergymen of other creeds than his own.

He was fond of varying his pedestrian routes, and by this means came to acquire a knowledge of the physical aspects of Baltimore, its streets, buildings and public institutions, which was perhaps not excelled by any other resident of the city. One of his favorite journeys was out Charles Street, on which the archiepiscopal residence is situated, through a section then embracing the most beautiful residences of the city, and into a network of quiet suburban roads over which he proceeded until he reached Notre Dame College for women. At the end of

this long walk, he was sometimes in a mood for rest and the Sisters in charge of the college always kept a room ready for him in which he might find complete privacy.

He did not shun the quarters of the city in which poverty was apparent, nor even the rougher districts along the water front where, now and then, his experiences were unpleasant. A resident of Baltimore once intervened to rescue him when he was threatened by a half-drunken idler in the vicinity of a wharf. The vagrant was astonished when, in the course of the vigorous rebuke which he received from the Archbishop's rescuer, he learned of the distinguished office of the pedestrian whom he had rudely accosted.

When Gibbons first fell into the habit of taking these walks he was comparatively young and active and the slow street traffic in Baltimore involved little danger to him. As methods of transportation changed and automobiles and trolley cars began to whiz through the streets his youthful companions found it necessary to guard him carefully from accident. One of them whose quickness was perhaps a means of preserving his life on a certain occasion after he had become a Cardinal thus told of the experience:

"Nearing the middle of the street, a northbound automobile truck approached us. We stopped to let the machine pass. Suddenly a fast moving touring car swung out from behind the truck. It was bearing down on us. I hastily seized the Cardinal's arm and rushed him across to the sidewalk.

"When we arrived safely on the sidewalk, I apologized to his Eminence for my lack of gentleness.

" 'Oh,' replied his Eminence, 'never mind that, my

son,' and standing on the corner, apparently to regain his usual composure, he continued, 'let me tell you a story.'

" 'Two of my clerical friends were roughing it in the backwoods of Virginia. One day as they were tramping along, one suddenly struck the other a heavy blow—a blow that knocked him sprawling. The one who had dealt the blow assisted his friend to his feet. At the same time he apologized for his apparent rudeness in these words: "If I had not hit you, you would have stepped on a rattlesnake."

" 'Thus you see,' concluded the Cardinal, 'that it is necessary to use rough tactics sometimes.' "

Gibbons regulated his walks so that almost invariably he returned to the Cathedral at two minutes before six. Sometimes he amused himself, upon entering the Cathedral grounds, by turning to the seminarian who was with him, and asking him to guess the time. One of his companions on an afternoon walk taken when Gibbons was advanced in years relates this incident:

"Knowing that the Cardinal would ask me to guess the time, I took out my watch when we were several blocks away from the Cathedral and noticed that it was ten minutes to six.

"When we entered the Cathedral grounds, his Eminence turned to me, and said: 'Mr. ——, let us guess the time. You have the privilege of making the first guess.'

" 'I guess that it is four minutes to six, your Eminence,' I replied.

" 'And I believe that it is two minutes,' said his Eminence.

"Watches were compared. The Cardinal had guessed the exact time."

Gibbons' whole attitude in and out of his ecclesiastical relation was a powerful appeal to non-Catholics. On an extremely hot Sunday in midsummer, while in Southern Maryland, he asked the clergyman who accompanied him to preach. At the conclusion of the sermon, when the priest descended from the pulpit almost exhausted by a vigorous discourse on the doctrine of absolution, he was surprised to see the Archbishop ascend the steps and preach again, but on a very different topic—one which appealed to persons of all creeds.

"I thought you asked me to preach?" exclaimed the astonished clergyman, when the congregation had been dismissed.

"Did you not see," replied the Archbishop, "that more than half of the congregation were Protestants?"

Gibbons had not been in the diocese long before it was observed with especial interest that he never failed to register as a voter and that on election days he was usually one of the most prompt in his precinct in casting his ballot. In the early days of his archbishopric, the election officials, mostly politicians of a small sort who resided in the neighborhood of the archiepiscopal residence, were surprised and agitated at the unexpected spectacle of the prelate performing his civic duty with the simplicity which might mark any of his neighbors. In time they took it as a matter of course, and the only unusual manifestation when he appeared to vote was the deference which was shown to him by all in the polling place.

He did not identify himself with any party, but few men in the country were as well informed upon general

political conditions as he. At night, in the quiet of his residence, he read much of United States history and civil government. They were his favorite studies apart from those which pertained to his office in the Church. He became one of the most deeply versed of Americans on the Federal Constitution, its history and its interpretation.

Theology, canon law and church history occupied much of his reading, but his religion was not predominantly of the speculative kind; it was a religion of action, whose supreme expression was service to his fellow men. When he preached or spoke of religious topics, he usually reasoned in simple terms with others, rather than attempted to influence them by the weight of logic and learning. "Happily," he once wrote, "it did not please God to save the world by logic or philosophy, nor would it have pleased man. The world was never governed by philosophy; it has never wanted to be, and it never will be. Christianity knows the nature of man; it has a far deeper wisdom than was ever dreamed of in the philosophies of the great thinkers." [1]

Under Gibbons' régime in the diocese of Baltimore, new churches, schools and reformatory institutions increased fast and converts swelled the congregations. The number of churches was more than tripled while he was Archbishop. Every Catholic was heartened by the bold strokes of such leadership. His direct influence seemed to be felt in the most remote chapel of his jurisdiction, for no detail of the field was too small to receive the

[1] Reply to Thomas A. Edison's views on immortality, *Columbian Magazine*, March, 1911.

painstaking attention which he seemed to be able to shower so widely in abundant streams.

His labors were incessant. Men of the most robust physique could scarcely keep up with him. His health as he reached the peak of maturity showed improvement, but his digestion remained weak and at times he appeared almost emaciated. On one occasion it was said of him that his frame seemed barely substantial enough to hold the soul within. His form, however, was compact and sinewy, and the iron resolution which drove him forward in his work could not be daunted by slight physical ills.

His pathology, indeed, was a marvel. Organically sound from boyhood, he was nevertheless subject to periods of feeble vitality. This was partly due to poor nutrition which had continued since his days in the Canton pastorate, when the excessive strain of the long fasts before two Sunday Masses had made heavy inroads on his digestion. Prudence in diet and regularity of exercise reduced this obstacle but never removed it. At times he showed a tendency to collapse under strain, but this was offset by an amazing power of quick recuperation. After a long and fatiguing ecclesiastical ceremony, he would sometimes seem exhausted; but a rest of half an hour or even less would restore him as if he had taken a deep draught from a fountain of perpetual strength.

Large undertakings inspired him physically as well as mentally. His eyes would become alight under this stimulus, every feature of his keen face would become set in firm outline and even a slight habitual stoop of his shoulders would be strangely missing. The wonderful engine of his mind never lost a fraction of its power,

but throbbed at the same high pressure in physical acceleration or depression.

The potent influences that held him up were clearly not physical. To him life was a spiritual warfare, and he was a soldier advancing to the charge who could not falter until stricken down. His optimism was boundless. Now and then he would show impatience, as all men do, but he avoided worry. There was a calm confidence upon him which seemed to be not of this earth.

Amid all the burdens which fell upon him he practised his devotions, which occupied several hours a day, with unfailing regularity. He arose at six o'clock every morning. Sometimes he took a little light exercise in his room to start the circulation of his blood, which was disposed to be sluggish. Soon afterward he said Mass and, following a light breakfast, was alert for the business of the day. His callers were perhaps more numerous than those of any other Archbishop in the world, because he denied himself to none. Some came for religious consultation, others for advice; still others, to solicit alms, to invite his participation in public affairs, to urge his presence in churches, to seek his advice on a variety of subjects that would bewilder an ordinary man.

At his front door was usually an usher, generally a lad whom he had befriended by means of this employment, and whom later he placed in a position where there was a chance to rise in the world. This usher received the cards of visitors and escorted them to one of the two reception rooms on the main floor of the archiepiscopal residence. Not infrequently there were waiting groups in both of these rooms, and the Archbishop was kept busy

going from one of them to the other, almost as if it had been a general reception.

In an interval he would trip lightly up the stairs to his study, where he would write or dictate; but at the next call he would descend again with unruffled patience and a cheerful cordiality which made the visitor feel thoroughly at home. He could turn to each caller with complete ease, as if the last one had been the first whom he had seen. The breadth of his character and observation, together with the ready social faculty which was a part of him, gave him the power of meeting almost all persons on a footing of congeniality.

His purse at that time was not over full, though he was beginning to receive a considerable revenue from royalties on "The Faith of our Fathers," his famous apologia which leaped into immense popularity. This went almost as quickly as it came. He helped students with contributions, assisted the poor, subscribed to worthy undertakings and was a patron of literature and art. It was said of him that he was perhaps the readiest man in Baltimore to give a response to an appeal for aid. With all his keen discrimination of character and his power of reading men, kindness of heart predominated in his impulses.

His memory for names and faces and his exceptionally large acquaintance contributed greatly to swell the number of his visitors. He could identify children by their resemblance to their parents, and was fond of testing his capacity in this respect, to the surprise of fathers and mothers. Couples whom he had married were his friends forever, and he wished not to lose sight of any of them.

He dined about one o'clock; then he rested a while, perhaps received more callers, and about 4:30 o'clock came the daily walk or drive. After supper he studied or made visits. At times he had a habit of dropping in on parishioners or other friends in the evening, chatting half an hour, perhaps remaining for a cup of tea, and always being the life of any party in which he happened to be.

Distinguished foreigners visiting America for purposes of observation made a practise of coming to Baltimore to call at the house of the Archbishop, the head of the primatial See of America. He could often speak to them in their own tongues. Not a few of them conveyed their impressions of him in books which they subsequently wrote.

Through all of his busy hours were scattered numerous devotional exercises. He spent more time in reading the Scriptures than any parish priest of his diocese, and was always ready for the humblest duties of the ministry. Calls for marriages, baptisms and funerals found him willing to respond if the time could be spared from his necessary episcopal duties. His discourses to bridal couples were particularly happy, and many of them kept his picture in their homes throughout life. The sacredness of marriage, its responsibilities and duties was a favorite theme with him. He did not cease to emphasize that this was the foundation of the social structure and his influence was bent toward the maintenance of proper home life among Americans.

When occasion offered, he never failed to exalt the nobility of wifehood, motherhood and womanhood. He

valued the judgment of women, as well as their devotion to the cause of religion. In many households he watched the home circle spring up and now and then a visit or a word of encouragement from him helped to strengthen the foundations.

Often he said High Mass and preached on Sundays and he was foremost in Lenten devotions. Once every year he went into retreat with the clergy of the diocese, allowing nothing to interfere with this period of spiritual refreshment.

The institutions for the reformation of youth in Baltimore and its vicinity were objects of his especial solicitude. His interest in children caused him to visit these institutions frequently, speaking simple words of encouragement and vigorous common sense to those who needed his guidance. He did not believe in severe restriction of the wayward, though firmness he considered to be thoroughly necessary. His view was that in almost every person, young or old, there is much of good, which needs only to be awakened by proper influences. It was due as much to his personal guidance and frequent aid as to any other cause that the benevolent and reformatory institutions maintained by Catholics in the diocese of Baltimore have been conspicuous in the front rank of the most enlightened of charities.

CHAPTER XII

THIRD PLENARY COUNCIL OF BALTIMORE

It was as a churchman that Gibbons did his greatest work. In the calling to which he consecrated his life, all his resources of intellectual gifts and the flower of his graces of character were unstintedly used. Although the preponderance of his ability in the purely ecclesiastical field was obscured in the public mind by the far-reaching nature of his general activities, it was indelibly impressed upon the Hierarchy and clergy, and remains for them a permanent inspiration.

The decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore have been the chart for the Catholic Church in America since 1884. Under them she has attained a growth unequaled in any other part of the world, and has made clear her place in harmony with the civil institutions of the country. The organization and guidance of that Council, over which Gibbons presided as Apostolic Delegate, was the greatest constructive project upon which he ever embarked. His was the mind that conceived its broad outlines; his the vision that was reflected in its enlightened acts. The Council contained some exceptionally able men, and a measure of the force of his personality may be obtained from the fact that he was the master spirit of a gathering in which so many were strong leaders by nature and training.

Greater results have flowed from the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore than any other national council of the Church held in the three hundred and fifty years since the fathers met at Trent, and they have been immeasurably more far-reaching. When Gibbons planned for America he was unconsciously planning for the world; for the Council received Papal commendation as the model for bodies of that kind that were convoked subsequently. First the churchmen of Canada, Australia and Ireland accepted it as a pattern in framing their own decrees and then others of different nationalities followed.

Its work stands as the perfected type of a fabric of ecclesiastical legislation covering alike fundamentals, complexities and contingencies; as an expression both of the universal aims of the Church and of the details by means of which those aims may be realized.

The first characteristic of its legislation is loftiness and breadth of range; the second completeness; the third adaptability to the conditions of the modern world. It contains not a single obsolete canon. And he who drew this constitution became its chief administrator; no one else could interpret it into churches multiplied and souls saved as he could do it. As it was happy for the United States that Washington, the chairman of the convention which framed the Federal Constitution, was the first President to guide the practical application of that instrument, so it was happy for the Catholic Church that Gibbons' hand was at the helm of the Church in America while she first steered her course by the decrees of the Third Plenary Council.

Let those who think that the Catholic Church does not

adapt herself to national conditions—and they are vastly fewer since Cardinal Gibbons lived—and that her methods in America are fixed with iron rigidity by influences external to the country, reflect that the Bishops sat together with broad powers and full freedom of voice in 1884 to frame regulations for the whole body of the priesthood and laity in the United States. True, these regulations were valid only when approved by the Pope, but they were approved without material changes. They did not alter faith and doctrine, for these things are apart from nationality, and the Church in America no less derives them from the fountain head in Rome than the Church in every other part of the world. But the range of the Council's decrees was far wider than that of the decisions of any non-Catholic ecclesiastical body of its time in America, and in the domain of organizing the Church in its jurisdiction for meeting directly and intimately the needs of the people it was practically unlimited. Such, indeed, was the amplitude of the powers possessed by the American episcopate, that it was said that Pius IX once wittily remarked when besought to perform an act which he considered beyond the proper exercise of his powers: "Only an American Bishop can do that."

It was Gibbons' consummate handling of the Third Plenary Council which caused Leo XIII to make him a Cardinal.

When the project of the Council was broached, his first inclination was to oppose the holding of it at that time. He feared that it would serve as a pretext for a revival of the intolerant criticism of the Church which had marked

her previous general councils in America. It would have dismayed him if, when his warfare against that blighting influence was just beginning to take wide effect, there had been a new parading before the public mind of fanciful tales that Catholic prelates were meditating in secret conclave assaults upon the civil liberties of the nation. His memory of the "Know-Nothing" agitation, which flamed with virulence in and after 1852, when the First Plenary Council of Baltimore was held, was still vivid. He had been shocked again by the chorus of alarmist voices which railed against the Second Plenary Council. In his view it was best to reduce to a minimum new general legislation for the Church in America when the minds of so many of his fellow countrymen were disturbed by varying degrees of distrust of that spiritual body, the extension of whose influence over the souls of men in America was his chief concern.

Between the Plenary Council of 1852 and its successor fourteen years had elapsed. In 1884 there had been an interval of eighteen years since the Second Plenary Council, of which he had been the Assistant Chancellor, had formulated its decrees. While these may be considered long periods, it should be remembered that the Catholic Church aims at permanency in all of its functions, seeking to build the foundations so broad and deep that temporary currents of change cannot affect them. Archbishop Gibbons, knowing that means were at hand for revising and adding to the disciplinary regulations of the Church in America, believed that these means could be made effective without the exceptional step of convoking a national council. He wrote in his journal:

"Jan. 4 [1882]. Most Rev. Dr. Corrigan, at the instance of Cardinal McCloskey, called on me in relation to the expediency of holding a national council. Some Bishops and clergy of the United States have been urging Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, to authorize and recommend the council as important to the interests of religion. Cardinal Simeoni asked his Eminence of New York to give his views, which are rather adverse to the measure. I gave as my opinion that it would not be expedient to hold a council for some time to come; but as a preliminary step, provincial councils might be held, or the Bishops of each province might assemble informally and consider what subjects might be discussed in the plenary council. The Bishops of the West seem to favor a national council, as some of them have intimated to me."

The demand by members of the Hierarchy of the West for a general council sprang from the amazing material changes in that part of the country which had expanded proportionately the opportunities of the Church. With the building of the Union Pacific Railroad and the rapid development of other lines of transportation in the region West of the Mississippi River, waste lands where only the Indian had roamed, or perhaps an adventurous miner had strayed in search of sudden wealth, had changed into prosperous and populous communities which afforded fertile fields for the ministrations of religion. The territory once embraced in the Louisiana Purchase, and subject in turn to the ecclesiastical laws of Spain and France, had become united by the telegraph, as well as the railway, with the older communities of the East, in which precedent had been derived largely from the Hierarchy of Great Britain. Still further toward the

Pacific, States and Territories had been organized out of the immense region wrested from Mexico by the fortune of war. Here, too, the ecclesiastical customs were in some instances different from those which prevailed in other parts of the nation, and there was no longer such a separation by distance that uniformity was not essential. Not long before, the Archbishop of St. Louis and the Bishop of San Francisco had rarely seen the Archbishop of Baltimore, because of the great distances and the other physical obstacles which separated them; but now it had become easy to assemble the whole Hierarchy for effective and concerted action.[1]

Wherever the Catholic Church goes she organizes. Her methods necessitate concentration of authority and purpose. The mission which springs up in a primeval grove is as much subject to the spiritual oversight of the Supreme Pontiff as is the magnificent Cathedral in one of the capitals of Europe. The mode of worship is not left to chance, nor circumstance, nor popular caprice; but must conform to the ritual of the universal Church, as decreed by the fathers assembled in the plenitude of their authority.

Although the priest may penetrate an unexplored country; although he may journey over wild mountains, or along streams where untutored natives had never seen a white man; he is bound as closely by faith and discipline to the great ecclesiastical organization of which he is a part as is the canon of a basilica in Rome. The language in which he may celebrate the mysteries of the Mass is not the one which he learned from his mother, not the

[1] *Memorial Volume,* Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, pp. 211–22.

one which may be spoken in the locality where he happens to be, but the one which has formed the casket for the deposit of Catholic faith from the days of the martyrs. Thus the Church was spreading in 1884 in Western America; thus she has spread from the days when she began her mission to mankind.

The United States in that year was still, in the eyes of Rome, a missionary country, subject to the jurisdiction of the Congregation of the Propaganda.[2] The Church here had no comprehensive framework of canon law which would serve as an enduring basis. Her gifted doctors in Europe had framed such constitutions from ancient times, modified to suit conditions which arose from century to century among the peoples to whom they ministered. While much had been accomplished in that direction by the first two Plenary Councils of Baltimore, the task was far from complete and the necessity for its full accomplishment was one of the chief reasons which led to the convoking of the third Council.

In time, as opinion among the American Hierarchy crystallized, Leo XIII summoned the Archbishops to Rome to confer on the subject. Gibbons wrote in his journal:

"March 13 [1884]. I left Baltimore on the 8th of October last year and sailed from New York on the 10th on the Cunard steamer *Gallia*. I reached Rome November 1st in response to an invitation of the Holy Father, who desired that the Archbishops of America would confer with him in relation to the Church of the United States. All the Archbishops were present personally or through a representative except the Archbishop of San

[2] This condition was removed by Pius X in 1908.

Francisco. Our conferences closed about the middle of December. The Holy Father was pleased to direct that a Plenary Council be held in Baltimore November 9 of this year and has charged me with the office of Apostolic Delegate. Rev. Dr. O'Connell [3] accompanied me on my journey and was of great service and comfort to me. I reached home in good health today, thank God. The clergy and laity had made extensive preparations for a public reception on my return, which I declined."

The decision to hold the Council did not deter Archbishop Gibbons from his resolute purpose to prevent, so far as in him lay, any active step which might alienate non-Catholics. It was characteristic of him that if he could not accomplish any of his larger purposes by one means he was always able to find another way to achieve the same object. Not only did he decide to bend his utmost efforts to avoiding an interruption of the conciliation of non-Catholics, but he formed the bold design of actually hastening that conciliation by means of the Council itself. Possessing the power of Apostolic Delegate and being charged with the supreme guidance of the gathering, he determined that in its acts it should express a liberal spirit which would appeal to Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

For this he must needs depend upon the powerful support of Leo, who accorded it to him gladly. In their first interview in Rome in regard to the Council, the Pope had said to him:

"I dislike severe and harsh measures. I dislike anathemas. I love to appeal to the good sense and intelligence

[3] Afterward Bishop of Richmond.

and heart of the world. As the Vicar and servant of Christ, I desire to draw all souls more closely to our common Master. To all I am a debtor. I have the solicitude of all the churches of Europe, Asia, Africa, and especially of your own great and beloved country, whose spiritual progress gives me such consolation." [4]

Foremost in the details of the Archbishop's plan was his determination to spare no effort that the Council should take a strong stand in behalf of the position of the Catholic Church as a powerful supporter of American civil institutions. He wished this course to be so clearly marked that the voice of criticism would be stilled in advance. It would open, he believed, the hearts of tens of thousands to the spiritual appeal of the Church; and it conformed in every respect with his own judgment of what was right and fitting.

Second, the Apostolic Delegate wished the Council to lay a broad and deep foundation for the disciplinary evolution of the Church here that would bring it thoroughly and intimately in harmony with American institutions. He desired that Catholic educational facilities should be so multiplied that every American priest might be trained in his own country and thus, to the utmost extent possible, the overwhelming mass of the clergy would be natives of the land where they labored.

Third, he was firm in the decision that every unfinished problem of the Church here should be taken up and solved with finality, so that there might be no need of another Plenary Council for a far longer period than had elapsed

[4] Archbishop Gibbons told of this conversation in a sermon in the Baltimore Cathedral in March, 1884, a few days after his return from Rome.

between the first and the second, or between the second and the third Councils.

Preaching in the Baltimore Cathedral soon after his return, he expressed thanks for the offer of a public reception by the city authorities and people of Baltimore in honor of his arrival, which he had declined. He said:

"I am myself opposed to such public demonstrations, and though they may be appropriate on some occasions, I felt that I had not the age nor the merits to deserve such. It would have taken place in the midst of Lent, and I would have felt very much mortified to consider myself conducted home in a procession of triumph at a time when the Church directs our minds to the spectacle of our Savior conducted to suffering in a procession of shame."

The Archbishop in the same discourse spoke of his experiences in Rome. After saying that he had three private audiences with Leo XIII, and two others in company with his brother prelates, he drew a picture of that Pontiff which was significant of their relations at that time and for many years to come. He said:

"No one can stand a half hour in the presence of Leo XIII without giving thanks to God for granting to his Church so great a Pontiff and without being profoundly impressed with the breadth and elevation of the sentiments that inspire him. . . . Notwithstanding his advanced age and delicate, I might say emaciated, frame, the Pope is indefatigable in his labors. In my first interview with him, he informed me that he began his audiences that morning at half past eight o'clock. They continued until his frugal meal at one o'clock, and were resumed and lasted probably until nine o'clock at night. I was informed by a member of his household that he

allows himself but little repose, and that sometimes when the city is buried in sleep the aged Pontiff is engaged until after midnight in writing his masterly encyclicals or doing some other good work in the interests of the Christian commonwealth."

Regarding his conferences with his brother Archbishops in Rome, which had been held at the College of the Propaganda under the presidency of Cardinal Simeoni, assisted by Cardinals Franzelin and Jacobini, he said that they had been characterized by the "most ample freedom of discussion, joined with the most perfect harmony and good feeling."

The Archbishop also spoke of the life of the Cardinals —his future associates—saying:

"Whatever may be the pomp which surrounds them on public occasions, the Roman Cardinals, especially those engaged in the congregations, are the hardest worked officials in the Eternal City. They are conspicuous for their learning and piety, and lead simple lives in the sanctuary of their homes, and, some of them even lives of great austerity. If profound knowledge and clear insight into character and good common-sense and sterling virtue and unwearied application to the duties of office form the essential elements of prudent counsellors, the Roman Cardinals constitute the most able senate of any deliberating body existing in the world."

Every time the Archbishop went to Europe—and those times were many in the course of his life—he came back with a firmer faith in the institutions of his country. Dwelling in the same sermon upon his observations of general conditions abroad, he expressed a viewpoint which had already become characteristic of him when he said:

"The oftener I go to Europe, the longer I remain there, and the more I study the political condition of its people, I return home filled with greater consideration for our country and more profoundly gratified that I am an American citizen. When I contemplate the standing armies of over a million soldiers in each of the principal countries of Europe; when I consider what an enormous drain these armies are on the resources of a country and what a frightful source of immorality; when I consider that they are a constant menace to their neighbors and an incentive to war, and when I consider that the subject of war engages so much of the attention of the cabinets of Europe; and when, on the other hand, I look at our own country with its 55,000,000 inhabitants and its little army of 25,000 men scattered along our frontiers, so that we might travel from Maine to California without meeting a soldier or gendarme; and when I consider that if need be every citizen is a soldier without being confined to barracks and is ready to defend or die for his country; when I consider that we have no entangling alliances; when I reflect upon our material prosperity; above all, when I consider the happy blending with us of authority with civil and religious liberty; with all our political corruption, I bless God for the favors He has vouchsafed us, and I pray that He may continue to hold over us the mantle of His protection." [5]

Archbishop Gibbons again showed his judgment of men in selecting Dr. Dennis J. O'Connell to assist him in the immense task of preparing for the Plenary Council. He could not have chosen an ecclesiastic better fitted by keen insight into the workings of the universal Church and rare comprehension of the true spirit of the American people. The work was congenial to the natural bent of

[5] *Catholic Mirror*, March 22, 1884.

both and its prodigious labor did not deter either of them.

An outline was completed of the numerous topics to be treated by the Council and the general scope for all the deliberations of the prelates in Baltimore was accurately marked out. Upon the Archbishop's return from Rome he applied himself indefatigably to a continuance of his preparation for the assemblage, being engaged on the undertaking every day up to the time of the meeting.

Soon after his return, he issued a pastoral letter [6] protesting against the seizure of the American College in Rome. This subject powerfully moved Catholics in the United States at that time. The Italian government, under laws passed in 1866 and 1873, had levied upon the property of the Propaganda, including the American College. While the title to this property was in the name of the Propaganda, it had been established and maintained by the contributions of Americans resident in Rome and American Catholics generally.[7]

By direction of President Arthur, a diplomatic note was addressed to the Italian Government, asking, if not a perpetual abandonment of the intended sale, at least a stay of proceedings until some settlement could be reached.

Gibbons, in his pastoral, presented vigorously the justice of the American case, saying:

"It cannot be called intermeddling in the proper jurisdiction of a foreign government if we use our endeavors to prevent it from appropriating our property. The title

[6] Archives of the Baltimore Cathedral.
[7] Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, pp. 373–76.

of the building known as the American College may have been placed in the name of the Propaganda for convenience and security, but nevertheless the fact remains that it was purchased and fitted up by the contributions which you and your fellow Catholics made and it is in reality the property of Americans. And the Propaganda is an international institution; its aims are international—the diffusion of Christianity and of Christian civilization—and it has received no endowment whatever which was not intended for that purpose. Three grave interests of ours are involved in the fortunes of this congregation: the expeditious and gratuitous transaction of all our ecclesiastical affairs with the Holy See, the prosperity of our American College and the education of other students for our American missions in the Urban College, which is the property of the Propaganda.

"It was in consideration of the privilege extended to us by the Propaganda of admitting our students gratuitously to the benefit of its lectures that our own American College was founded, and some of the most distinguished ecclesiastics that appear in the history of the American Church and of our diocese were students of the College.

"This, moreover, is a subject that appeals not only to yourselves and to all your fellow Catholics throughout the missions, but also to every lover of right and of humanity throughout the world; for, after the Church itself there exists to-day no greater organization for the diffusion of Christianity and of Christian civilization, or for drawing together in the peaceful harmony of one common family all classes and varieties of men, than the Propaganda. Representatives of every clime are to be found within the walls of its university.

"Who, then, without a feeling of regret or of indignation, can contemplate the idea of such a noble institution, after doing its work of promoting 'peace among men of

good will' for nearly three hundred years, falling at last a victim of injustice? Even Napoleon, who seemed to have had respect for nothing that could furnish him with means for carrying on his ambitious campaigns, had too much reverence for the Propaganda to despoil it. Humanity has certain rights and interests in common and surely the protection of the Propaganda is one of them."

Meetings of protest against the seizure were held in the United States. Gibbons thus recorded in his journal a meeting of that kind in his own diocese:

"June 29 [1884]. Sent to Cardinal Simeoni a copy of the proceedings of a meeting held in Washington this month, protesting against the threatened spoliation of the Propaganda property."

The American protest was effective and the property was restored by the Italian government.[8]

Gibbons had devoted himself so unsparingly to the preparations for the Council that when the opening day arrived he was near a physical collapse. He said years afterward:

"When I started to read the prayer at the beginning of the first session, my hands trembled violently. I was a young man then [he was fifty years old] and I might have been expected to stand the strain better. However, I felt my strength and buoyancy gradually rising as the Council proceeded until I was in good physical condition before the end. Think of what it meant, with several score of Bishops present and I, the presiding officer, the youngest of them all! I never stopped for difficulties, even if I was dismayed at times. There was a Providence in it all, but sometimes I felt great weakness."

[8] Brann, *History of the American College, Rome*, p. 154.

As the authoritative presiding officer of a deliberative body, large or small, Gibbons was not surpassed, if equaled, by any man of his time. He showed the possession of that rare gift so that all could see it upon many occasions; but never more conspicuously than at the Third Plenary Council. It was natural that many differences of opinion should develop in that body, for its members represented communities as diversified and widely separated as communities in the immense domain of the United States could be. The tradition of the Church allowed them that full freedom in the expression of opinion which is permissible even in the precincts of the Vatican and which, in the clash of ideas, develops the vital spark that fuses the predominant judgment of learning, experience and piety. When debaters such as Ireland, of St. Paul, Ryan, of Philadelphia, Hennessy, of Dubuque, Keane, of Richmond, Spalding, of Peoria, and Gilmour, of Cleveland could not agree, the Apostolic Delegate was able to find ground upon which all could stand.

In this task, as all others which fell to him, he seemed to respond more fully as greater demands were made upon his resources of ability and tact. With rare comprehension of human nature, he could say a word in the Council here, bestow a smile there, express a doubt at the right moment, and seize the favorable opportunity to press a point. Although the opinions of individual members of the Council were inevitably influenced by great differences of initial viewpoint, and it was a "melting pot" in which the diverse tendencies of the American people were mingled, they proved that they possessed

within themselves resources for the construction of great national ideas.

The Council's principal function of providing for the spiritual needs of the people was performed with thoroughness and vision. The influence of Archbishop Gibbons was seen in the appointment of a commission to prepare a catechism for general use, which was made obligatory after its publication. As an organizer of Sunday schools and a teacher in them, and as one who had been ardently solicitous to win converts to the Church, he realized the need of a simple outline of faith which would appeal to all and be comprehensible by all. He was a natural teacher, possessing many of the pedagogical traits and a profound interest in the general subject of education. Throughout his life this zeal was exhibited in a multitude of works. Men professionally trained for complex educational activities were sometimes surprised to discover that his intimate grasp of such subjects equaled or surpassed their own.

Another commission of the Council framed with exacting care and the labor of years a manual of prayers printed in parallel Latin and English which is a model of its kind and is the standard for American Catholics. The Archbishop to the end of his days continued to exhort the use of this manual both in devotions in church and those in the home.

Still another commission was appointed to aid the missions among the Indians and negroes, in whose welfare he had shown especial zeal. His sympathy was profound for the pathetic fate of the aborigines of America, and his efforts could always be enlisted in pleading for

the religious and secular education of their modern descendants as one means of restoring the balance of justice on the part of the white race. Numerous institutions for negroes stand to this day as monuments of his solicitude for their spiritual and material welfare.

Uniformity in feasts of obligation throughout the United States was obtained by a decree that these six were to be observed and no others: The Immaculate Conception, Christmas, Circumcision of Our Lord (New Year's Day), Ascension, Assumption and All-Saints' Day.

The pastoral letter issued by the fathers of the Council at the close of their sessions expressed clearly the objects which they had sought to accomplish, as well as defined briefly their principal decrees. The influence of Gibbons was evident in a number of the most important declarations and in none more so than the definition of the harmony between the Catholic Church and the American people. On this point the following extract may be quoted:

"We think we can claim to be acquainted with the laws, institutions and spirit of the Catholic Church, and with the laws, institutions and spirit of our country; and we emphatically declare that there is no antagonism between them. A Catholic finds himself at home in the United States; for the influence of his Church has constantly been exercised in behalf of individual rights and popular liberties. And the right-minded American nowhere finds himself more at home than in the Catholic Church, for nowhere else can he breathe more freely that atmosphere of Divine truth, which alone can make him free.

"We repudiate with earnestness the assertion that we

need to lay aside any of our devotedness to our Church, to be true Americans; the insinuation that we need to abate any of our love for our country's principles and institutions, to be faithful Catholics. To argue that the Catholic Church is hostile to our great Republic, because she teaches that 'there is no power but from God'; because, back of the events which led to the formation of the Republic she sees the Providence of God leading to that issue, and back of our country's laws the authority of God as their sanction—this is evidently so illogical and contradictory an accusation, that we are astonished to hear it advanced by persons of ordinary intelligence. *We believe that our country's heroes were the instruments of the God of Nations in establishing this home of freedom; to both the Almighty and to His instruments in the work we look with grateful reverence; and to maintain the inheritance of freedom which they have left us, should it ever—which God forbid—be imperiled, our Catholic citizens will be found to stand forward, as one man, ready to pledge anew 'their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.'*

"No less illogical would be the notion that there is aught in the free spirit of our American institutions incompatible with perfect docility to the Church of Christ. The spirit of American freedom is not one of anarchy or license. It essentially involves love of order, respect for rightful authority and obedience to just laws. There is nothing in the character of the most liberty-loving American which could hinder his reverential submission to the Divine authority of our Lord, or to the like authority delegated by Him to His Apostles and His Church. Nor are there in the world more devoted adherents of the Catholic Church, the See of Peter and the Vicar of Christ, than the Catholics of the United States.

"Narrow, insular, national views and jealousies con-

cerning ecclesiastical authority and Church organization may have sprung naturally enough from the selfish policy of certain rulers and nations in bygone times; but they find no sympathy in the spirit of the true American Catholic. His natural instincts, no less than his religious training, would forbid him to submit in matters of faith to the dictation of the State or to any merely human authority whatsoever. He accepts the religion and the Church that are from God, and he knows well that these are universal, not national or local—for all the children of men, not for any special tribe or tongue. We glory that we are, and with God's blessing shall continue to be, not the American church, nor the church of the United States, nor a church in any other sense exclusive or limited, but an integral part of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ, which is the Body of Christ, in which there is no distinction of classes and nationalities—in which all are one in Christ Jesus." [9]

[9] *Memorial Volume*, Third Plenary Council, Part 3.

CHAPTER XIII

BIRTH OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

The principal aims and preponderant results of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore were educational. Through its instrumentality the Church in America definitely outlined for the first time the scope of a general system of education springing from herself, leaving no part of the field unprovided for, and prescribing steps for the physical realization of these purposes.

Unappalled by a deficiency of financial resources in proportion to this wide project, the Council framed, with painstaking care, provision for the education of priests, for the higher education of the laity and for primary education. Archbishop Gibbons rejoiced in his heart at the boldness of the step, and in his deep faith could see no permanent obstacle to its success within the range of a few generations at most.

He had already formed in his own mind a clear conception of two definite aims always to be borne in mind in the diffusion of religion among the American people. These were education and the lifting of the material condition of the poor. While the aims to which he devoted himself were manifold, perhaps they all blended into these two main aspirations.

The foundation of the Catholic University of America was the pinnacle of the new project. In the debates of

the Council of 1866, the establishment of a university in which the loftiest ideals of the Church for the training of her priesthood and laity should be fitly expressed was advocated, but only as a distant goal. It was realized that means were lacking, and that the moment was not opportune to embark upon the undertaking in a manner which promised its adequate fruition. There was unanimity of opinion that the day was not far distant when the university could be founded, and the Bishops resolved always to keep that aim in sight as the climax of their educational efforts.

Thus the idea lay dormant until the fervent zeal of Bishop Spalding, of Peoria, opened the way for its transformation into reality. This John the Baptist of the university project was a Kentuckian who had studied at Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, and also in Cincinnati; but to obtain the ampler equipment which he sought for his life work he determined to spend five years at Louvain. Becoming impressed with the serious disadvantages which grew out of the lack of a Catholic university in his own country, he resolved to devote himself to the realization of the project with unceasing persistence. Embarking upon this mission, equipped with exceptional talents and the ardor of comparative youth, he won influential figures in the Church to his view that the time had come to make a start. Carrying his plea to Rome in 1882, he obtained the Papal approval of a plan for organizing the university.

Archbishop Gibbons was one of the first American prelates to throw his influence in favor of the decision to hesitate no longer in this matter. When he went to Rome

in the autumn of 1883 to frame, in connection with other members of the Hierarchy, the outlines for the work of the Third Plenary Council, he embraced the project with eager hopes and with faith in its realization which never afterward wavered. The prelates resolved to include the founding of the university in their program, and when the Council met Bishop Spalding was able to announce a triumph. He presented an offer from Miss Mary Gwendoline Caldwell of $300,000—a large sum for the purpose in those days before most universities in this country possessed the great endowments which have since come to them—to form a nucleus for the needed fund. Her father, William Shakespeare Caldwell, had inherited a large fortune which he increased by his own talents in business. While living in Richmond, Virginia, when Gibbons was Bishop there, he had munificently endowed the work of the Little Sisters of the Poor and bestowed with an open hand other benefactions upon the Church.

The Council accepted the offer as a providential means of beginning the task upon which it had resolved to embark, and appointed a board of trustees to take charge of the university project. Archbishop Gibbons headed this board from the beginning and remained its head throughout his life, devoting himself to the university with unwearying solicitude and throwing the whole force of his prestige, resources and efforts into the scale. An appeal was made to the Catholics of the United States to provide the means for the endowment of eight professorships with which it was decided that the university

could begin its work, and also for the erection of the necessary buildings.

The idea found favor on all sides. An ample site was obtained in Washington, in environments where the university could feel at home as a national institution, and where the patriotic inspiration of the students was likely to be developed most strongly. The construction of buildings was soon begun and a number of the men of foresight who lent their unstinted efforts to the work in its beginnings lived to hail a realization of it far beyond their expectations.

Archbishop Gibbons saw with especial regret in 1884 that many American priests still found it necessary to go to the great universities abroad, notwithstanding the marked increase in the United States of schools for their advanced training. The multiplication of such schools that had taken place would have kept up, perhaps, with normal progress by the Church, but her extraordinary growth baffled calculations. Priests who studied in Europe returned in some cases with ideas which were not suited to the flocks which they served. None felt more keenly than the Archbishop of Baltimore that it was an urgent need to develop a thoroughly American Catholic university, one in faith with the Catholic body throughout the world, but in touch with the spirit and aspirations of the people whom it was designed to serve.

An overflowing tide of immigration was then sweeping in and there was no dissent within the Church from the view that the newcomers who were unable to speak English should receive, in the period soon after their arrival, the ministrations of religion from clergymen who

could speak their own languages and who could sympathize with and help them in their homes on an intimate footing. The Third Plenary Council went so far in its solicitude for them as to decree that immigrants were to be instructed at first by priests speaking their own tongues. Thus it continued to be true that a considerable proportion of the priesthood was made up of men of foreign birth, for the Catholic Church is the shepherd of by far the largest proportion of the immigrants who come from countries where English is not spoken.

The real obstacle was that a number of the clergymen who served English speaking congregations were also of foreign birth and training. While educational facilities for the training of priests were still inadequate in America, this could not have been avoided, as the Catholic Church insists upon their rigorous schooling in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent and the Vatican Council; they could not be content with the moderate education which often sufficed for clergymen of some Protestant faiths. In the century before the birth of the American Republic, when the Catholic religion was proscribed almost constantly in Great Britain and Ireland, and was harassed to a lesser extent, but still grievously, perhaps more by public opinion than by force of law, in a number of the American colonies, virtually all of the priests who labored in the Church in America were foreigners.

When the Federal Constitution abolished discriminations and gave to the Catholic Church, as to all others, a free field among the American people, the fathers of St. Sulpice in Paris had hastened to send to Baltimore a

group of their members to found a college for the training of priests. This was naturally under French influence for many years. For a long time no resources to found such schools were to be had in America and all of those which sprang up were, from necessity, of European origin. It had continued to be difficult to send forth for ordination Catholic ministers of religion who had been associated with no educational training except that of their own country. Waves of immigration had complicated the problem since colonial times, when the American priesthood had a French tinge just as the clergy of the Church of England were of English origin. When the flood of Irish immigration came later, the priests were largely of Irish birth; and as Germans, Austrians, Italians and Poles began to swarm hither, there was another influx of foreign influence.

Archbishop Gibbons, a native American, an optimist regarding his own people, felt that this should be changed. While a priest could execute his Divine mission without being one in social environment with the recipients of his ministrations, he felt that it was far better to have American training for Americans. It was also highly important to have a cultured clergy—men who, while able to penetrate among the homes of the poor, to carry their evangel into the nurseries of vice and degradation, could also meet the highest types of the people on a footing of perfect equality. Tens of thousands of Catholics, a host increasing faster every year, were men and women of culture, refined in their social instincts, moving in the best circles of city, town or country. The priests ministering to them should have

some polish, some versatility of education and association, some measure of the general impulses of those with whom they came in contact.

The fathers of the Third Plenary Council set forth in their pastoral letter that one of their first cares had been to provide for the education of aspirants to the priesthood. On this point they said:

"It has always been the Church's endeavor that her clergy should be eminent in learning, for she has always considered that nothing less than this is required by their sacred office of guarding and dispensing Divine truth. 'The lips of the priest shall keep knowledge,' says the Most High, 'and the people shall seek the law at his mouth.' This is true at all times; for no advance in secular knowledge, no diffusion of popular education, can do away with the office of the teaching ministry, which Our Lord has declared shall last forever.

"In every age it is and shall be the duty of God's priests to proclaim the salutary truths which our Heavenly Father has given to the world through his Divine Son; to present them to each generation in the way that will move their minds and hearts to embrace and love them; to defend them, when necessary, against every attack of error. From this it is obvious that the priest should have a wide acquaintance with every department of learning that has a bearing on religious truth.

"Hence in our age, when so many misleading theories are put forth on every side, when every department of natural truth and fact is actively explored for objections against revealed religion, it is evident how extensive and thorough should be the knowledge of the minister of the Divine Word, that he may be able to show forth worthily the beauty, the superiority, the necessity of the Christian

religion, and to prove that there is nothing in all that God has made to contradict anything that God has taught.

"Hence the priest who has the noble ambition of attaining the high level of his holy office may well consider himself a student all his life; and of the leisure hours which he can find amid the duties of his ministry, he will have very few that he can spare for miscellaneous reading, and none at all to waste. And hence, too, the evident duty devolving on us to see that the course of education in our ecclesiastical colleges and seminaries be as perfect as it can be made.

"During the century of extraordinary growth now closing, the care of the Church in this country has been to send forth as rapidly as possible holy, zealous, hard-working priests, to supply the needs of the multitudes calling for the ministrations of religion. She has not, on that account, neglected to prepare them for their Divine work, as her numerous and admirable seminaries testify; but the course of study was often more rapid and restricted than she desired. At present our improved circumstances make it practicable both to lengthen and widen the course, and for this the Council has duly provided."

In conformity with the principles thus set forth, the Council decreed that more preparatory seminaries for the education of clerics were to be organized. The teaching in them was to embrace Christian doctrine, music and the Gregorian chant, besides the usual branches of profane learning. The student was to be taught to speak and write Latin and instruction in Greek was also to be given, as well as an adequate course in English.

Care must be taken in selecting candidates for admission to the greater seminaries and they must be zealously

trained in virtue and learning. They were to take two years' work in philosophy and four years in theology. The theological course was to embrace the dogmatic and moral branches of the subject, biblical exercises, Church history, canon law, liturgy, and eloquence. Especial care in the appointment of the spiritual directors and the professors in the seminaries was enjoined. Clerical students must spend their vacations in a manner becoming their profession.

After ordination, priests must take an examination annually for five years in Scripture, dogmatic and moral theology, canon law, Church history and liturgy. All priests were to make a spiritual retreat once a year, if possible, or at least every two years. They should develop themselves by solid reading and study, and avoid conduct that would raise the least suspicion of evil.

Parochial schools were declared to be an absolute necessity, and pastors were directed to establish them. It was held to be desirable that instruction in these schools should be free. Colleges and academies for the higher education of those who passed through the parochial schools were to be encouraged by all possible means.

The declarations of the Council on the subject of popular education were particularly noteworthy as furnishing the basis on which the school question was afterward worked out by American Catholics. The pastoral letter treated of it as being of supreme importance. Affirming with earnestness that the system of Catholic schools was a prop for the State, it proceeded:

"The cry for Christian education is going up from all the religious bodies throughout the land. And this is no narrowness and 'sectarianism' on their part; it is an honest and logical endeavor to preserve Christian truth and morality among the people by fostering religion in the young. Nor is it any antagonism to the State; on the contrary, it is an honest endeavor to give to the State better citizens by making them better Christians. The friends of Christian education do not condemn the State for not imparting religious instruction in the schools as they are now organized; because they well know it does not lie within the province of the State to teach religion. They simply follow their consciences by sending their children to denominational schools, where religion can have its rightful place and influence."

The letter set forth with vigor the Church's general zeal for education and the usefulness of that zeal to mankind then and in the past, saying:

"Popular education has always been a chief object of the Church's care; in fact, it is not too much to say that the history of civilization and education is the history of the Church's work. In the rude ages, when semi-barbarous chieftains boasted of their illiteracy, she succeeded in diffusing that love of learning which covered Europe with schools and universities; and thus from the barbarous tribes of the early Middle Ages she built up the civilized nations of modern times. Even subsequent to the religious dissensions of the sixteenth century, whatever progress has been made in education is mainly due to the impetus which she had previously given. In our country, notwithstanding the many difficulties attendant on first beginnings and unexampled growth, we already find her schools, academies and colleges everywhere, built and sustained by voluntary contributions,

even at the cost of great sacrifices, and comparing favorably with the best educational institutions in the land.

"These facts abundantly attest the Church's desire for popular instruction. The beauty of truth, the refining and elevating influences of knowledge, are meant for all, and she wishes them to be brought within the reach of all. Knowledge enlarges our capacity both for self-improvement and for promoting the welfare of our fellow men; and in so noble a work the Church wishes every hand to be busy. Knowledge, too, is the best weapon against pernicious errors. It is only 'a little learning' that is 'a dangerous thing.'

"In days like ours, when error is so pretentious and aggressive, every one needs to be as completely armed as possible with sound knowledge—not only the clergy, but the people also—that they may be able to withstand the noxious influences of popularized irreligion. In the great coming combat between truth and error, between faith and agnosticism, an important part of the fray must be borne by the laity, and woe to them if they are not well prepared! And if, in the olden days of vassalage and serfdom, the Church honored every individual, no matter how humble his position, and labored to give him the enlightenment that would qualify him for future responsibilities, much more now, in the era of popular rights and liberties, when every individual is an active and influential factor in the body politic, does she desire that all should be fitted by suitable training for an intelligent and conscientious discharge of the important duties that will devolve upon them.

"Few, if any, will deny that a sound civilization must depend upon sound popular education. But education, in order to be sound and to produce beneficial results, must develop what is best in man, and make him not only clever, but good. A one-sided education will develop a one-sided life; and such a life will surely topple

over, and so will every social system that is built up of such lives.

"True civilization requires that not only the physical and intellectual, but also the moral and religious well-being of the people should be promoted, and at least with equal care. Take away religion from a people, and morality would soon follow; morality gone, even their physical condition would ere long degenerate into corruption which breeds decrepitude, while their intellectual attainments would only serve as a light to guide them to greater depths of vice and ruin.

"This has been so often demonstrated in the history of the past, and is, in fact, so self-evident, that one is amazed to find any difference of opinion about it. A civilization without religion would be a civilization of 'the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest,' in which cunning and strength would become the substitutes for principle, virtue, conscience and duty. As a matter of fact, there never has been a civilization worthy of the name without religion; and from the facts of history the laws of human nature can easily be inferred.

"Hence education, in order to foster civilization, must foster religion. But many, unfortunately, while avowing that religion should be the light and the atmosphere of the home and of the Church, are content to see it excluded from the school, and even advocate as the best school system that which necessarily excludes religion. Few surely will deny that childhood and youth are the periods of life when the character ought especially to be subjected to religious influences. Nor can we ignore the palpable fact that the school system is an important factor in the forming of childhood and youth—so important that its influence often outweighs that of home and Church.

"It cannot, therefore, be desirable or advantageous that religion should be excluded from the school. On

the contrary, it ought there to be one of the chief agencies for molding the young life to all that is true and virtuous and holy. To shut religion out of the school and keep it for home and the Church is, logically, to train up a generation that will consider religion good for home and the Church, but not for the practical business of real life. A more false and pernicious notion could not be imagined.

"Religion, in order to elevate a people, should inspire their whole life and rule their relations with one another. A life is not dwarfed, but ennobled, by being lived in the presence of God. Therefore, the school, which principally gives the knowledge fitting for practical life, ought to be preeminently under the holy influence of religion. From the shelter of home and school the youth must soon go out into the busy ways of trade or traffic or professional practice. In all these, the principles of religion should animate and direct him. But he cannot expect to learn these principles in the workshop or the office or the counting-room. Therefore, let him be well and thoroughly imbued with them by the joint influences of home and school before he is launched out on the dangerous sea of life.

"All denominations of Christians are now awakening to this great truth, which the Catholic Church has never ceased to maintain. Reason and experience are forcing them to recognize that the only practical way to secure a Christian people is to give the youth a Christian education. The avowed enemies of Christianity in some European countries are banishing religion from the schools, in order, gradually, to eliminate it from among the people. In this they are logical, and we may well profit by the lesson.

"Two objects, therefore, dear brethren, we have in view—to multiply our schools, and to perfect them. We must multiply them till every Catholic child in the land shall have within its reach the means of education. There is still much to do ere this be attained. There

are still thousands of Catholic children in the United States deprived of the benefit of a Catholic school. Pastors and parents should not rest till this defect is remedied. No parish is complete till it has schools adequate to the needs of its children, and the pastor and people of such a parish should feel that they have not accomplished their entire duty until the want is supplied.

"But, then, we must also perfect our schools. We repudiate the idea that the Catholic school need be in any respect inferior to any other school whatsoever. And if hitherto, in some places, our people have acted on the principle that it is better to have an imperfect Catholic school than to have none, let them now push their praiseworthy ambition still further, and not relax their efforts till their schools be elevated to the highest educational excellence. And we implore parents not to hasten to take their children from school, but to give them all the time and all the advantages by which they have the capacity to profit, so that in after life their children may 'rise up and call them blessed.' "

The Council refused to condemn the public schools and forbade any one, whether Bishop or priest, either by act or by threat, to exclude from the sacraments as unworthy persons who chose to send their children to such schools or the children themselves. Where there was no Catholic school, or where the one available was little fitted for giving the children an education in keeping with their condition, the Council decreed that the public schools might be attended with a safe conscience. In such cases measures to provide for the religious instruction of the children were to be taken by the parish priest. The Council urged, however, that parochial schools should be increased in number until every Catholic child might have the benefit of a Catholic education.

CHAPTER XIV

THE QUESTION OF SECRET SOCIETIES

Another question upon which the Third Plenary Council bestowed attention was that of secret societies. Its ordinances in regard to them were the basis upon which the momentous decision upon the toleration of the Knights of Labor was soon to be made in response to the urging of Gibbons. In America, with its comparative absence of restriction of the individual, organizations of every kind had multiplied amazingly. The Church was bound to legislate upon an issue which in the days of the secret bands of "Know Nothing" plotters had involved the gravest considerations for religious liberty.

There was, of course, no purpose to disturb any societies maintained for a lawful purpose that was not repugnant to religion. It was only those whose aims were hidden behind the screen of a mysterious oath which excited the apprehensions of the prelates. The pastoral letter of the Council set forth definitely that the Church by no means wished to oppose the general tendency to form groups. The main outlines of the attitude expressed in it were:

"One of the most striking characteristics of our times is the universal tendency to band together in societies for all sorts of purposes. This tendency is the natural

outgrowth of an age of popular rights and representative institutions. It is also in accordance with the spirit of the Church, whose aim, as indicated by her name Catholic, is to unite all mankind in brotherhood. It is consonant also with the spirit of Christ, who came to break down all walls of division, and to gather all in the one family of the one Heavenly Father.

"From the hilltop of her Divine mission and her world-wide experience, she sees events and their consequences far more clearly than they who are down in the tangled plain of daily life. She has seen associations that were once praiseworthy become pernicious by change of circumstances. She has seen others which won the admiration of the world by their early achievements corrupted by power or passion, or evil guidance, and she has been forced to condemn them. She has beheld associations which had their origin in the spirit of the ages of faith transformed by lapse of time and loss of faith, and the manipulation of designing leaders, into the open or hidden enemies of religion and human weal.

"Thus our Holy Father, Leo XIII, has lately shown that the Masonic and kindred societies—although the offspring of the ancient Guilds, which aimed at sanctifying trades and tradesmen with the blessings of religion; and, although retaining, perhaps, in their 'rituals' much that tells of the religiousness of their origin, and although in some countries still professing entire friendliness toward the Christian religion—have, nevertheless, already gone so far, in many countries, as to array themselves in avowed hostility against Christianity and against the Catholic Church as its embodiment, so that they virtually aim at substituting a world-wide fraternity of their own for the universal brotherhood of Jesus Christ, and at disseminating mere naturalism for the supernatural revealed religion bestowed upon mankind by the Savior of the world. He has shown, too, that

even in countries where they are as yet far from acknowledging such purposes, they, nevertheless, have in them the germs which, under favorable circumstances, would inevitably blossom forth in similar results.

"The Church, consequently, forbids her children to have any connection with such societies, because they are either an open evil to be shunned, or a hidden danger to be avoided. She would fail in her duty if she did not speak the word of warning, and her children would equally fail in theirs if they did not heed it.

"Whenever, therefore, the Church has spoken authoritatively with regard to any society, her decision ought to be final for every Catholic. He ought to know that the Church has not acted hastily, or unwisely, or mistakenly; he should be convinced that any worldly advantages which he might derive from membership in such a society would be a poor substitute for the membership, the sacraments and the blessings of the Church of Christ; he should have the courage of his religious convictions and stand firm to faith and conscience. But if he be inclined or asked to join a society on which the Church has passed no sentence, then let him, as a reasonable and Christian man, examine into it carefully, and not join the society until he is satisfied of its lawful character.

"There is one characteristic which is always a strong presumption against a society, and that is secrecy. Our Divine Lord Himself has laid down the rule: 'Every one that doeth evil hateth the light and cometh not to the light, that his works may not be reproved. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light that his works may be made manifest, because they are done in God.' When, therefore, associations veil themselves in secrecy and darkness, the presumption is against them, and it rests with them to prove that there is nothing evil in them.

"If any society's obligation be such as to bind its mem-

bers to secrecy, even when rightly questioned by competent authority, then such a society puts itself outside the limits of approval; and no one can be a member of it and at the same time be admitted to the sacraments of the Catholic Church. The same is true of any organization that binds its members to a promise of blind obedience—to accept in advance and to obey whatsoever orders, lawful or unlawful, may emanate from its chief authorities; because such a promise is contrary both to reason and conscience. And if a society works or plots, either openly or in secret, against the Church, or against lawful authorities, then to be a member of it is to be excluded from the membership of the Catholic Church."

The Council overlooked no department of the Church's activities in America. Time has amply attested the soundness and permanency of its legislation. It introduced in the United States, where priests had been removable at the will of the Bishop, a modification of the system of irremovable rectors which had been in use in Europe. The Council enacted that every tenth rector should be irremovable where the circumstances justified it, being secure in his tenure except when guilty of specified offenses. It decreed that a parish, in order to have an irremovable rector, must possess a proper church, a school for boys and girls, and stable revenues for the support of priest, church and school.

A candidate for such a post must have been in the ministry ten years and have shown himself a satisfactory administrator in spiritual and temporal affairs. The examination for irremovable rectorships must take place before the Bishop or Vicar General and three examiners. Each candidate was required to answer questions on

dogmatic and moral theology, liturgy and canon law, and to give specimens of catechetical exposition and preaching.

Regulations were established for recommending candidates for bishoprics and as to the appointment and duties of diocesan consultors and episcopal tribunals. Warning was given regarding abuses incident to such means of raising money as picnics, fairs, and excursions, and balls for religious purposes were prohibited. In all churches, it was ordered, some seats must be provided for the poor.

The Council sent a letter of sympathy to the Bishops of Germany, whose people were then groaning under the May laws. The Archbishop of Cologne replied recounting the difficulties of the Church in his own country and added:

"We congratulate you, venerable brethren in the Lord, because in your republic the Church rejoices in the fulness of liberty, so essential to her and her due by right Divine."

Complete harmony marked the end of the Council; and Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, wept as he expressed the thanks of the prelates to the Apostolic Delegate for the manner in which he had presided over their deliberations. He spoke of his presence at the First Plenary Council, saying:

"I had never seen a more sublime sight; it was not this grand old building, nor the gorgeous vestments, nor the dulcet strains of the music that inspired me. It was that assemblage of men from all parts of the country, with different ideas and sentiments, but with one common end in view—the good of our Church.

"When Xerxes beheld his army of a million men standing in their martial strength before him, he wept on reflecting that not one of that mighty host would survive a century, and so of us, venerable fathers, in half that time death shall claim us all."[1]

Archbishop Gibbons was naturally moved to his inmost depths by the closing scene. As always in the presence of a personal triumph, his modesty seemed to be accentuated. In his reply he said:

"Whatever success has attended my part of the work, I attribute, under God, to your kind forbearance and uniform benevolence toward me. Mindful of the words of the Apostle, you have not despised my youth. I have witnessed the proceedings of the greatest deliberative bodies in the world; I have listened to debates in the House of Commons, the French Chambers and both Houses of Congress. I have attended provincial, national and ecumenical councils; but never did I witness more uniform courtesy in debate, more hearty acquiescence in the opinions of the majority than in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.

"Venerable Fathers, we have met as Bishops of the common faith; we part as brothers bound by the closest ties of charity. Though differing in nationality, in language, in habits, in tastes, in local interests, we have met as members of the same immortal episcopate, having 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all'; and if the Holy Father, whose portrait adorns our Council chamber, could speak from the canvas, well could he exclaim: 'Behold how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!'

"The words you have spoken in Council, like good seed, are yet hidden from the eyes of men; but they will

[1] *Catholic Mirror*, December 13, 1884.

one day arise and bring forth fruit of sanctification. The decrees you have formulated will foster discipline and piety; they will quicken the faith and cheer the hearts of millions of Catholics.

"This is the last time that we shall assemble under the dome of this venerable Cathedral with the portrait of God's saints looking down upon us. The venerable Archbishop has reminded us of our short tenure of life; but we are immortal! God grant that the scene of to-day may be a presage of our future reunion in the temple above not made with hands, in the company of God's saints, where, clothed in white robes and with palms in our hands, we shall sing benediction and honor and glory to our God forever." [2]

The decrees of the Council, signed by fourteen Archbishops, sixty-one Bishops or their representatives, and one general of a religious order, were taken to Rome by Dr. O'Connell and several of the American Bishops. They were approved and returned without substantial changes. They seemed to have removed all doubt in the mind of Leo XIII, if any existed, as to who was his right arm in the western part of the world. In Archbishop Gibbons he saw an enlightened thinker and an apostle of the new democracy to which he was turning with hope as the most fertile field for the Church's efforts. Now that the Council had erased ecclesiastical complexities due to the diversity of origin of the American people and had given the Church in the United States a complete and unified organization on which might be made the impress of a truly national character, the field of opportunity immensely broadened. The assimilative power

[2] *Memorial Volume,* Third Plenary Council, pp. 65–67.

of the Church in America was to be tested no less than that of the body politic; for both it was to be a time of trial.

Leo and Gibbons asked for no favors from, sought no entanglements with, the government of the United States. They wished only a free and open opportunity to carry the appeal of the Church to the hearts and consciences of Americans and welcomed the advent of a new order in which their plans might be fulfilled.

After the decrees of the Council had been tested by time, Leo expressed his especial commendation of them in his encyclical letter of January 6, 1895, on "Catholicity in the United States." He wrote:

"The love which we cherish toward the Catholics of your nation moved us likewise to turn our attention at the very beginning of our Pontificate to the convocation of a Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Subsequently when the Archbishops, on our invitation, had come to Rome, we diligently inquired of them what they deemed most conducive to the common good. We finally, and after mature deliberation, ratified by Apostolic authority the decrees of the prelates assembled at Baltimore. In truth, the event has proven, and still proves, that the decrees of Baltimore were salutary and timely in the extreme. Experience has demonstrated their power for the maintenance of discipline; for stimulating the intelligence and zeal of the clergy; for defending and developing the Catholic education of youth.

"Wherefore, venerable brethren, if we make acknowledgment of your activity in these matters, if we laud your firmness tempered with prudence, we but pay tribute to your merit; for we are fully sensible that so great a harvest of blessings could by no means have so swiftly

ripened to maturity had you not exerted yourselves each to the utmost of his ability, sedulously and faithfully to carry into effect the statutes you had wisely framed at Baltimore." [3]

[3] *Encyclical Longinque Oceani,* translated by the Rev. John J. Wynne, in *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII,* pp. 326–327.

CHAPTER XV

ELEVATED TO THE CARDINALATE

The golden age of the Catholic Church in America was now at hand, the age of Gibbons, in which she flourished to a degree as unexampled for her as was the prosperity of the age of Augustus for ancient Rome; in which she suddenly flowered forth with a marvelous increase of her activities in all directions, tripling the number of her followers, doubling the number of her churches, and more than quadrupling the number of her priests;[1] in which she stood accepted at last under the searching gaze of public opinion as a staunch upholder of the civil institutions of the country, a tremendous force for liberty and law and order, shunning everywhere trespass upon the civil functions of the State so that all could see her stand, asking no favors but asserting her equality of right; a prop and pillar, second to none, of all the just aspirations that had throbbed in the bosoms of Americans since the days of Washington.

The master spirit of the Church in America during that period was Gibbons. Possessing ample authority

[1] The number of Catholics in the United States in 1877, when Gibbons became Archbishop of Baltimore, was 6,000,000; at the beginning of 1921 it was 17,885,646, not counting the number in the insular possessions. The churches increased from 8000 to 16,000 in the same period; priests from 5000 to 21,000 and parochial schools from 1500 to 6000. In the diocese of Baltimore, as we have already seen, the number of Catholic churches was more than tripled.

and the full support of Leo XIII during the most critical part of the time, he dominated also by the force of his personality. In the eyes of Americans the Catholic Church was embodied in Gibbons. He was her type and exemplar when criticism reared its head, and his life and works and words were the most effective answer to criticism. His influence was felt as strongly in the distant dioceses of the Pacific coast as in the shadow of his own Cathedral in Baltimore.

The irresistible forces of enlightenment, missionary effort and patriotic zeal which Gibbons set in motion began to show all their maximum effects immediately after the Third Plenary Council. In the public mind their amplified scope soon became associated with his promotion to the honor of being the only Cardinal in America, which distinction he possessed for a quarter of a century.

He was of a different type from McCloskey, who died October 10, 1885, after having been a member of the Church's most exalted Council for ten years. No better perspective of this difference of temperament could be given than in the words pronounced in the funeral sermon over the first American Cardinal in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, by him who was destined to be the second, and who, comparing McCloskey with his most famous predecessor in the See, said:

"McCloskey, meek, gentle, retiring from the world, reminds us of Moses with uplifted hands praying on the mountains; Hughes, active, bold, vigorous, aggressive, was, as it were, another Joshua fighting in the valley,

armed with the Christian panoply of faith, truth, justice."

The methods of Hughes were the methods of Gibbons, as America and the world were soon to see. As he spoke those words he stood on the brink of battle, for there was opening for him a succession of struggles to realize his aims which might have made faint the heart of the boldest had they been perceived then in their full outlines.

It was evident that the Pope was not to leave America without a Cardinal. Previous to the elevation of McCloskey, little personal preference in regard to the selection by Rome had been expressed; but now, overwhelmingly evident in public opinion from one end of the country to the other and only less strong among non-Catholics than Catholics, was the desire that the honor should fall upon Gibbons. It was in effect a form of unconvoked plebiscite in which his fellow countrymen registered their choice by a majority so great that dissent seemed insignificant.

True, here and there local preference for others found voice. Friends of Archbishop Corrigan, who had been raised from the bishopric of Newark to the See of New York, hoped that he might receive the honor; or that if a red hat were bestowed elsewhere, the representation of America in the Sacred College might be increased and New York, the diocese embracing the greatest number of Catholics in the world, might continue to have a resident Cardinal also. In Boston the wise and clear-sighted

Archbishop Williams was considered worthy of the highest place in the gift of the Papacy.

Leo XIII, always especially keen to observe currents of opinion in America, did not delay his choice long. Archbishop Gibbons wrote in his journal:

"Feb. 10 [1886]. I received from my kind friend, Archbishop Corrigan, a telegram informing me that he had authentic information from Rome that the Holy Father had determined to raise me to the Cardinalatial dignity and that the biglietto would reach me about the 22nd of this month. I have also received congratulatory telegrams from Archbishop Williams, Mgr. Farley [2] and Mr. Benziger [3] The news is not yet known in our city. Should the report be verified, may God give me, as he gave to his servant David, a humble heart that I may bear the honor with becoming modesty and a profound sense of my unworthiness; '*suscitans de terra inopem et de stercore erigens pauperem ut collocet eum cum principibus populi.*' The Archbishop of New York says that the Cardinal Secretary of State mailed the biglietto on the 8th.

"11. Telegrams and messages of congratulation are pouring in from all parts of the country."

There is a break of nearly a month in the references to the subject in his journal. They were thus resumed:

"March 9. A cablegram from Wardo, Count Soderini, announces the Holy Father's intention to create me Cardinal.

"17. The following cablegram is published in all the American papers: 'Rome, March 16th. It is officially announced that at the Consistory to be held on April

[2] Then secretary to Archbishop Corrigan.
[3] The Catholic publisher of New York.

12th the following dignitaries of the Church will be made Cardinals: Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore; Archbishop Taschereau of Quebec; Mgr. Feratti, Nuncio at Venice; Mgr. de Rend, Nuncio at Paris; Mgr. Rampolla del Tindaro, Nuncio at Madrid and Mgr. Massella, former Nuncio at Lisbon.'

"May 5. Received a cablegram from Dr. O'Connell stating that the biglietto officially informing me of the Holy Father's intention to raise me to the Cardinalate was mailed in Rome May 3rd.

"6. Received from same a cablegram showing that the Consistory would probably be held June 7th.

"7. The Holy Father was graciously pleased to ask Dr. O'Connell to send me the following cablegram: 'The Pope wishes to be the first to notify you.'

"18. Received from Cardinal Jacobini, Secretary of State, the biglietto, an official document informing me of the Holy Father's intention to raise me to the Cardinalatial dignity at the next Consistory."

Cardinal Jacobini wrote:

"The Sovereign Pontiff wishes in a particular manner to attest the high esteem and consideration he has for the virtues which adorn your Grace and for the many claims you already have on account of your merits as well as to increase the lustre of the metropolitan See of Baltimore, first among all the churches of the vast Republic of the United States, and on that account adorned with the honorable title of primatial See." [4]

The Archbishop thus jotted down a memorandum of the Consistory at which he was elevated:

"June 7. Answered a private congratulatory letter of Cardinal Simeoni offering his felicitations on my ele-

[4] Letter of Cardinal Jacobini to Archbishop Gibbons, May 4, 1886, Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

vation to the Cardinalate. The Consistory was held today at which it pleased the Holy Father to place me among the members of the Sacred College."

Twenty-three days after the Consistory would come the twenty-fifth anniversary of Gibbons' ordination to the priesthood. That event would have been celebrated in the diocese of Baltimore in any event; now it took on a greatly enlarged meaning. The Archbishop wished to receive the red biretta on June 30, in order that the anniversary thereafter might be a double one.

At first there was doubt that the messenger of the Papal court would arrive in time for this plan to be carried out. The clergy and people of Baltimore, swayed by their affection for the new Cardinal and a lively sense of the honor done to his city and theirs, had begun without delay to make big preparations for the coming ceremony. Cable messages were exchanged with Rome, whose customary calm was broken—but by no means to the displeasure of the Curia—by the American urgency to hasten the ancient ceremony which was about to be performed.

Baltimore has been compared in certain rather striking aspects to a European city; and one instance in which the parallel might be traced is the warm-hearted interest with which the people of the city as a whole regard the Catholic Archbishop and the old Cathedral. Perhaps there is in this an echo of the story of St. Mary's and the beginnings of the American Hierarchy in the days of Carroll, but there is no doubt that the lofty character of an influential portion of the Catholic laity there from early times has had much to do with the feeling. Gover-

nor and Mayor, merchant and laborer, talked with eagerness of the approaching ceremonial. The novelty of seeing in a democratic community the venerable rite of the investiture of a Cardinal excited popular anticipation to a high pitch. The city prepared for a general fête and wrote the name of Gibbons on the roll of its most distinguished sons.

Heeding messages from Baltimore, Mgr. Straniero, the Pontifical representative bearing the red zucchetto and red biretta, accompanied by Count Muccioli, of the Noble Guard, and the Rev. Thomas S. Lee, rector of the Baltimore Cathedral, who had been in Rome, made an early start for Liverpool. Leo said to them at parting:

"Present to Cardinal Gibbons our affectionate paternal benediction. We remember him with the most cordial esteem and believe we could not confer the hat on a more worthy prelate. We cordially hope that during his Cardinalate our most holy faith may be blessed by great increase of strength among the Catholics of the United States."

A fast steamer bore the messengers to America. Landing in New York June 21, they hurried by train to Baltimore, where a large gathering of the clergy and laity met them at the railroad station. That evening at the archiepiscopal residence, Count Muccioli, in clattering sword and brilliant uniform, giving a picturesque reminder of the temporal power that was novel in America, presented the red zucchetto to the new prince of the Church; and Mgr. Straniero, who bore the biretta to be conferred June 30, announced his mission in the presence of a distinguished assemblage.

Nearly the whole American Hierarchy gathered in the city for the main ceremony. On the morning of the 30th, the venerable Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, as the Pope's representative, bestowed the red biretta upon Gibbons in the Cathedral, where Kenrick's brother, then Archbishop of Baltimore, had ordained the young priest a quarter of a century before.

The ceremony was preceded by an ecclesiastical procession such as can be seen in no other American city, and, indeed, in few cities of the world. Since Carroll's time the Church had been accustomed to hold her most splendid spectacles in the mother Cathedral of the United States. For the elevation of Cardinal Gibbons, the masters of ceremonial at St. Mary's Seminary, who from the lore and precedent of the past had long been accustomed to devise imposing pageants, prepared one which was then unprecedented in the country. There were hundreds of students for the priesthood in line, and other hundreds of the regular and secular clergy, Capuchin Fathers, members of the Benedictine Order, Lazarists, Dominicans, Jesuits and Franciscans. In the body of prelates who followed—in a Catholic procession the post of honor being always at the end, following the Biblical rule that "the first shall be last, and the last first"—the herculean forms of Ryan of Philadelphia and Feehan of Chicago, clad in episcopal purple, towered above the others like great trees in a forest. Archbishop Kenrick, so feeble that every step seemed to be an effort, tottered along near the end of the procession. Last of all in the long line came the new Cardinal, bearing himself with

the simple dignity which seemed to fit him like a garment on important occasions.

When a Catholic procession of note passes in Baltimore, Protestants as well as Catholics on the streets are accustomed to uncover their heads reverently; and in this respect their homage to the new Cardinal seemed to ignore, even more than usually, distinctions of creed. Within the crowded Cathedral sat many of the most distinguished men of his native city and State who had assembled to do honor to him.

The Pontifical High Mass was celebrated by Archbishop Williams, and Archbishop Ryan, one of the foremost pulpit orators of his time, was selected to deliver the sermon. Both of these men, powerful in the councils of the Church, were bound to the new Cardinal not only by ties of the closest personal friendship, but by deep and unwavering sympathy with his enlightened aims.

The resonant voice of Archbishop Ryan proclaimed the new prince of the Church in the light in which he had become known, saying:

"Providence has fitted him for the position. He is in perfect harmony with the spirit of the Church and can represent her to the American people; he is also in entire harmony with the spirit of the country and can represent it in the councils of the Church. He knows and feels that there is no antagonism between the Catholic Church and our political institutions; but, on the contrary, she is nowhere on earth to-day more perfectly at home than in this free land.

"On this day, twenty-five years ago, the present Cardinal was ordained to the priesthood by the greatest

ecclesiastic whom the American Church has yet seen—Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, of this city. Today the brother of that great prelate, venerable in years and merits, after traveling over a thousand miles, appears in this sanctuary to crown with the scarlet of the Cardinalate the young priest of that day. The former prelate prayed that God might 'bless and sanctify and consecrate' the prostrate young Levite; today his brother prays that the same God may illumine and fortify the prince of the Church.

"In this Cathedral where the new Cardinal was baptized, officiated as a priest, was consecrated Bishop, and presided so wisely over the late Plenary Council, he receives today the highest honors of the Church of God. It is an honor not only to him, but to the American Church; to this great State of Maryland, which, Catholic in its origin, proclaimed from the beginning the doctrine of religious liberty. It is an honor to this Catholic and hospitable city of Baltimore, and I rejoice to learn that its non-Catholic citizens appreciate it."

The Archbishop explained, as was appropriate in a country to which the ancient dignity of the Cardinalate was comparatively unfamiliar, the essentials of the structure of government which aims to make the Church a kingdom not of this world, but "visible, universal and perpetual." He said:

"Behold that kingdom under one king, Jesus Christ, and His visible representative on earth, the Sovereign Pontiff, with judicial and legislative departments spread throughout the whole earth, with more discordant elements than any kingdom that ever existed, and yet with more union of action and conviction and affection—a kingdom that extends further than all others, and claims the tribute of intellect and heart. Men acknowledge,

indeed, its power and wisdom, and try to account for both on purely human theories. Some regard it as the perfection of the monarchical system; others as a great republic, whose officers, from the Pope to the humblest Abbot, are elected by the governed, and whose religious orders are the model in great part for our own form of government. But the truth is that the Church is, strictly speaking, neither of these, nor a wondrous combination of both; but a new and Divine institution, a kingdom of God on earth, as the Scripture calls it. . . .

"The simple forms by which a few thousand converted Jews were ruled in Jerusalem would be insufficient to govern the children of every tribe and tongue and people, numbering over two hundred millions, ruled from Rome as a center of unity. Hence we find that the Sovereign Pontiff selected a body of ecclesiastics in Rome whom he constituted his chief or cardinal counselors in the great affairs of his kingdom. . . .

"These Cardinals form, as it were, a senate of the Church, and what a magnificent senate! . . . The selection of these counselors of the Pope is left to his own judgment; but the Fathers of the Council of Trent presumed to suggest that the Roman Pontiff select them, as much as possible, out of all the nations of the earth, where suitable persons can be found. The wisdom of this is evident. The members of the central governing body ought to understand thoroughly the peoples whom they govern. The present Pontiff, who is remarkable for his knowledge of the outside world and of the genius of this country, has, more than any other, perhaps, acted on this great and most wise principle."

Archbishop Kenrick, addressing the Cardinal, said:

"It is nothing anomalous or contrary to the principles of the Republic that we should have in our midst a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, and we

are confident that your appointment will continue to be regarded, as it is now regarded, as a new element of strength and harmony for all. The honor was one which American Catholics had a right to expect on account of the greatness of our country, the position which it occupies among the nations of the earth and the influence it has to exert over the future destinies of the human race. . . .

"We congratulate your Eminence on your appointment to so high an office. It will increase your cares and responsibilities, but it will also increase your means of usefulness as an honorable citizen of the Republic and as a faithful Bishop of the Church of God."

The new Cardinal, in responding, gave expression to a view upon which he often dwelt in later utterances, hailing Leo XIII as a providential Pontiff. He said:

"I feel assured that your hearts will go forth with mine in a message of thanks to our beloved Pontiff, for the event we are celebrating today. It is an honor not personal to myself; it is an honor which he confers on this venerable See, which you all love so well, and on the whole Church in America. It is a signal mark of his admiration and high esteem for our beloved country, in whose spiritual welfare from the first day of his accession to the chair of St. Peter he has taken so enlightened an interest.

"God raises up men in every age to meet the emergencies of the occasion. He has providentially raised up our present illustrious Pontiff to meet the special wants of these times. As the first Leo, by his majestic bearing and fearless eloquence, arrested the march of an all-conquering warrior and saved Rome from destruction, so has the thirteenth of his great name conciliated one of the mightiest empires of modern times, giving

back peace and liberty to the Church of Germany. He has been chosen umpire of two great nations of the eastern world; and his impartial decision, gratefully acquiesced in by their rulers, has hushed the clamor of strife and restored peace and harmony.[5]

"Never, perhaps, in the history of the Church has the moral influence of the Papacy been more strongly marked and beneficently exerted than during the reign of Leo XIII; never have the true relations of Church and State been more clearly enunciated than in his ever-memorable encyclical letter, *Immortale Dei*.

"In no country of all the nations of the earth does he find more loyal and devoted spiritual children than among the clergy and laity of this free Republic. And I am happy to add that our separated brethren, while not sharing in our faith, have shared in our profound admiration for the benevolent character and enlightened statesmanship of the present Supreme Pontiff.

"Beloved brethren of the laity, I say from my heart of hearts that earth has for me no place dearer than the sanctuary where I now stand and the diocese which I serve. And how could it be otherwise? It was in this Cathedral that I first breathed the breath of life as a Christian. At yonder font I was regenerated in the waters of baptism. Almost beneath the shadow of this temple, in old St. Mary's Seminary, I was raised to the dignity of the priesthood by the hands of the venerable Archbishop Kenrick, the illustrious brother of him from whom I have the honor of receiving the biretta to-day. It was at this very altar that I was consecrated Bishop by my predecessor and father in Christ, the venerated Spalding.

"We of this diocese down to the humblest priest hold it an honor as well as a duty to labor in the sacred soil of

[5] The reference was to the Caroline Islands dispute between Germany and Spain, submitted to the Pope as arbitrator.

Maryland, where the forefathers, two hundred and fifty years ago, planted the Cross and raised the banner of religious liberty and called forth the oppressed of other lands to take their shelter beneath its protecting folds. What holy enthusiasm should not these memories evoke! What zeal should they not arouse for religion and country!

"May it be the study of my life to walk in the footprints of my illustrious predecessors in this ancient See, and in the footprints of the first Cardinal Archbishop in these United States, who has lately passed to his reward and whose sterling merit was surpassed only by his modesty and humility. And may it be your good fortune also, dearly beloved brethren, to emulate the faith and civic virtues of your ancestors, and to hand down that faith and those virtues untarnished as precious heirlooms to the generations yet to be."

Baltimore expressed its joy after the ecclesiastical event of the day had been concluded. There was a banquet to the Cardinal at St. Mary's Seminary, where representative priests of the diocese, who had been first of all to recognize in him the traits of a great commander, expressed their delight at his elevation. At night there was a long parade in which Catholic Knights and young men's societies passed through illuminated streets.

The Cardinal's prestige was no less strong in the fashionable society of the city than in the demesnes of the poor, and a group of its principal figures attended a reception given in his honor in the evening by Miss Emily Harper, the granddaughter of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, at her home on Cathedral Street.

Throngs gathered in front of the Cardinal's residence

at night, as if to honor a candidate for the presidency at the height of a political campaign. They called for him to appear, and waves of cheers arose as he smilingly greeted them at the bay window of the house. When quiet had been restored, he walked out on the portico of the building and briefly expressed his thanks, concluding with a prayer for a blessing upon all.

Again he spoke, almost with awe, of the confidence reposed in him by Leo XIII, at the annual commencement the next day of St. Charles' College, where thirty-one years before, a youth just from New Orleans, he had pursued his classical studies in preparation for the priesthood. He said:

"With respect to the references made in the course of the addresses here to our Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII, I wish to say in all simplicity and in all sincerity that the predilection which he has appeared uniformly to evince toward me, and the favorable appreciation which he has made of what I have been able to do in the cause of religion, have been a constant source of embarrassment to me in his presence, and of wonder when distant from him."

The members of the teaching orders in the diocese, who had observed with some surprise and more delight that the Archbishop had never been too preoccupied to bestow attention even upon many of the humbler details of their labors and to extend cordial help which had been of untold value to them, expressed in an especial manner their rejoicing at his promotion. They were already accustomed to hear him speak words which inspired patriotism, and he responded in the same vein when a large body

of the Christian Brothers, representing the order in the province of Baltimore, presented an address to him at his residence. The Cardinal said:

"It is a source of inexpressible satisfaction to us to feel the most perfect assurance of how free from friction are the relations of the Catholic Church and the giant republic of the West. It proves the elasticity, if we may so speak, of Catholic doctrine. It proves that it is Catholic indeed, and has the capacity to adapt itself to all that is good in the many forms of governments and persons. Breathing the pure air of liberty, the Church expands with her finest strength, and grows in beauty and power.

"We would find yet more occasion to approve and love her if we could contrast her state here with her condition in other countries less happy in their government and laws. Here the government extends over us the aegis of equal laws without interfering with the just rights of any.

"How much can you not accomplish, dear brothers, in that spirit of self-sacrifice displayed by you in so many fields of untiring effort! We see around us now the monuments of those labors in the many young men reared in the faith, in intelligence and learning, fitted for the duties of citizenship, making them noble representatives of the State of Maryland. You carry out the principles of your founder, or rather, of the Gospel, for, after all, everything must be referred to the Gospel. The secret of your success is found in humility, piety and intelligence; they form a triple cord which cannot be broken. Acting upon these principles in molding the minds, hearts and souls of youth, you do more than Michelangelo, whose genius brought out those beautiful images in marble or on canvas which have for centuries been the admiration and delight of every land and people.

"It is not a slight debt that this archdiocese and this

great city of Baltimore—the first great field of your labors in this country—owe you. The clergy have experienced the benefit of your labors. You have many reasons to be proud of your mission in this archdiocese, for that mission is the high one of instilling virtue into young hearts and training their minds in knowledge."

The transformation of public opinion toward the Church which the Cardinal had already set in motion, and which was soon to be even more strikingly evident, was plainly disclosed by the press. Up to that time the newspapers of the country which were controlled by non-Catholics—and most of them were in that category—had seldom commented upon events relating to the Church. Perhaps this was due in part to a wish not to trespass on a field in which comment might not be welcomed; but it was partly to be accounted for by the fact that a barrier, whose origin no man could define exactly unless recourse were had to ancient causes, had seemed to exist between the Catholic Church as an ecclesiastical structure, represented by the general body of her Hierarchy, and the mass of non-Catholic interests in the United States.

Restraint was now thrown off and from one end of the country to the other newspapers of all shades of political belief, whose owners and editors were of different religious creeds, commented upon the elevation of Gibbons as an honor to their country and an augury of happy relations between the Catholic Church and American institutions. The new Cardinal had not yet risen to the full height of his popularity; but already some knowledge of the traits which distinguished him as a man and a

prelate had penetrated wherever Americans were. The newspapers saw in his selection for the Sacred College a recognition of the most progressive tendencies in the Catholic Church in America, and a hopeful sign of a complete understanding of the United States by the leaders of the Church in Europe. They felt that as an American by birth and training, no less than by sympathy and aspiration, he was exceptionally fitted to represent this country in the highest councils at Rome.

More than that, these journals began to open their columns to news of the Catholic Church. Hitherto there had been distrust on both sides; many of the clergy had felt that newspapers were inspired by misunderstanding, if not bigotry, and were obstructive of their work; and many of the newspapers, on their part, had been at least not disposed to assist where their help seemed not to be desired. Now the differences began to disappear. Cordiality took the place of suspicion. News of the Catholic Church had never been barred from any important American newspaper, but little of it had been printed. At first some, then a great many, journals began to solicit it and print it with as little hesitation as they solicited and printed the news of non-Catholic religious work.

In a country where the newspapers exercise so powerful an influence upon the general mental attitude of the people as in America, the results must be obvious. The new relation which thus came into being was of immense value in removing causes of that intolerance concerning religion which it was one of the overwhelming desires of Cardinal Gibbons to combat to the death.

The favor with which Gibbons was regarded by Leo XIII was welcomed by many newspapers as a great benefit to America. The venerable Pontiff was then well past three score and ten; none could foresee the remarkable age to which Providence was destined to spare him. Least of all was it known how far Leo would go in enabling Gibbons to carry out his broad designs for the extension of religion and the rescue of millions held down by the weight of economic injustice.

CHAPTER XVI

SETTING THE LARGER TASK

The new Cardinal hailed in his larger relation to the Church and the world an opportunity for translating into action many ideas which had been taking shape in his mind. He did not look upon his new office as merely imposing an additional burden of responsibility, for the greater the responsibility that came to him, the greater seemed his ease, poise and capacity to meet its requirements. Least of all did he consider it in the empty aspect of a personal honor, for he had given ample evidence of his willingness, from the day he entered the priesthood, to labor in an obscure field if Providence should so allot his destiny. His chief concern was not that he might have to do too much, but that he should not fail to stretch the opportunity to the utmost limit in the execution of the broad policy which he now proceeded to formulate.

The essentials of this policy had already become clearly defined in his own conceptions, but before adopting them fully he decided to fortify himself with advice. With thoroughness of plan, he sought to draw opinions from such a variety of sources that he would have no doubt of his own conclusions. Possessing a singular capability for understanding others, and particularly for understanding deep men whose thoughts seemed baffling to some, he proceeded.

He had been buoyed up by a comprehension of the

enlighted views of Leo XIII from the time of their conversations in Rome six years before. His impressions then gained had been amplified and fortified by correspondence with Leo, and he had sounded the opinions of Cardinals in Europe. With brother Bishops in America he also took counsel.

His plans, he knew, reached far outside the Church, though originating within it and operating from it as the visible fountain of his inspiration and his authority. He therefore consulted Americans in different walks of life, statesmen in Washington, laymen of prominence and vision, priests upon whom he relied; even some persons who filled humbler rôles in life. From all of these he gained impressions of what the Church, the world and America needed. His aims, rooted deep in his Catholic faith, was service to men, and his policy was to be a policy of service.

Once resolved in his own mind as to how to go on, he never wavered. Even before the insignia of the Cardinalate had been bestowed upon him, he had reached that point. Consistency of view, marked by a persistence which nothing could break, was one of his traits. He ended all debate with himself and proceeded to the stage of accomplishment.

His primary aim was that the Church should adapt herself to the fullest extent to the American democracy, for he believed that the cause of religion in the United States was bound up with the cause of democracy. He shared the view of Leo that democracy was the coming form of government, and that kingdoms and principalities which then retained their power by the defiant assertion

of prerogative were soon to topple. The Church, in Leo's view and Gibbons', must recognize the new condition without waiting for the completion of the wide changes which were impending. It was not for her to uphold any particular form of civil government, least of all to steady it with supporting hand when it tottered from weakness and decay, but to cooperate with men on the basis of their own best enlightenment and the inevitable tendencies in political life.

While Leo's conceptions on this subject were as broad as the domain of the Church herself, the chief concern of Gibbons was for his own country. As a leader in the greatest of all democracies, measured by numbers and material resources, he could cooperate with Leo. New conditions in Europe, he firmly believed, were echoes of the "shot heard 'round the world" that had been fired at Lexington. As the impulse for the political changes which had been operating in Europe for more than a century had come from America, so also America had been the exemplar to the world in the gradual evolution which had taken place. For democracy to fail in the United States, for it to be hampered or obstructed, or even distrusted, would be, in the opinion of Gibbons, an incalculable misfortune and a setback to the progress of civilization.

One of the most powerful forces which could contribute to the orderly progress of free government on the American continent was the Catholic Church. Gibbons felt that this cooperation could be accomplished best by a full acknowledgment of and thorough acquiescence in the American system as the constituted civic authority

chosen by the people; and that by the cultivation of the American character, through the uplifting and steadying influences of religion, means would be afforded for the working out of all the problems which the people must face.

In his opinion, no union of Church and State in America was practicable or even desirable. With each supreme in its own sphere, he believed that the Church would receive here, in reality, the most powerful protection accorded her anywhere in the world. Above all, he felt that her appeal to the hearts and consciences of Americans would be vain unless it could be made clear that the mass of Catholics in this country accepted, with complete accord, the civil institutions under which they lived, and unless the Church herself, through her Hierarchy no less than her priesthood and laity, was a powerful upholder of those institutions. He wished the Church in America to be as American as the Constitution itself, spurning interference in political affairs and pursuing her spiritual mission with serenity in the full confidence of vindication by the public judgment.

Religion and democracy would be alike endangered, the new Cardinal also held, by any further development of those paroxysms of intolerance which were a danger in an especial sense to a nation made up in part of conflicting foreign elements in whose original home lands the complete religious freedom of America was not comprehended. He knew that grave clashes of opinion on many subjects were inevitable in a republic. So long as they were confined to genuine differences on measures of public concern, he welcomed them as clearing the atmos-

phere by means of free discussion; but if, as had already been the case in "Know Nothing" times, there should be another political party which would seek to proscribe members of any religious faith, he felt that the orderly progress of the nation toward the realization of its own best hopes would be thwarted. Intolerance in religion, therefore, was a foe to be fought by all, as it endangered not only the cause of religion, but the cause of free institutions in their chief stronghold.

To the Cardinal it seemed impossible that the spread of democratic government over the world, with its wide opening of the quickened minds of the people to the spiritual influences of religion, could be attained without immense sacrifice unless there could be a lifting up of men toward equality of opportunity. In political equality merely as a dictum he could not see any permanent relief from the ills of mankind. In his own country, as throughout the world wherever free institutions took root, men who were entitled to vote upon the highest concerns of the State must have the opportunity to prepare themselves for that solemn duty.

In particular, the Cardinal felt that a battle must be waged for the true interests of labor, that it might be equipped for its full part under the new dispensation. It could no longer be repressed as it has been for centuries, during which it had been denied a full share of participation in civil government; as the masses demanded equal rights, and as they were to exercise them, they must have opportunities for education, for acquiring a sufficient degree of the comforts of life to enable them to maintain homes in which Christian principles,

and principles of political virtue as well, should guide the family.

Radicalism, with its ill-considered panaceas, he abhorred as the greatest danger of all, but between this and the general recognition of labor's just rights he saw the widest difference. He stood for the recognition and elevation of labor as one of the strongest props which the Church in her spiritual efforts, and the State in its civic efforts, could possess.

Another article of his public creed fully shared by the Pontiff was that the reasonable assertion of nationalism must not be stifled. The Church, he held, must comprehend American national traits and take them into account in delivering her message to the body of the people. Some of these traits were of the greatest use to the cause of religion as giving a foundation for the diffusion of the faith. When nationalism took an aggressive guise, it was, of course, to be discouraged. A conquering nation which might reduce others to vassalage would require the Church again to deal with the arbitrary wills of small groups of individuals, rather than with the great heart of humanity as a whole.

The Cardinal's view that the American people, as they had been organized in their own forms of political development, constituted the most fruitful field for the appeal of the Church, was amply sustained by the unexampled accessions to her numbers in the country during his life.

It was not in him to wait for these tasks to be undertaken one after another, and he formed the bold decision to embark upon all of them at once. To lay the groundwork of one of his campaigns carefully, to carry it to a

conclusion and then to attempt others in succession, would have required more than the normal span of one life, and certainly a longer span than appeared at that time to open before him. He did not stop at any time to think how long he might live, but, on the contrary, seemed to be utterly indifferent to that subject in later years. Yet it would scarcely have occurred to any close observer familiar with his physique and the excessive strains which he almost constantly imposed upon it that he would survive to the age of nearly eighty-seven. There was no sign of any weakening of the organic soundness which he possessed, but his body continued to appear frail and there was always the danger that ceaseless application to his work would undermine his health gravely. His concern was not for himself, but for what he could do for others in the span allotted to him.

Once resolved in his own mind as to how to proceed, he discarded all considerations that militated against the prosecution of his plans. There was wonderful determination in his make-up. While disposed to concede and conciliate to the utmost extent possible, going sometimes in these respects far beyond the ordinary range which human nature seems to leave open to the average man, he was, nevertheless, as unbending as a bar of steel in the pursuit of objects which he deemed essential. He had no doubt of the necessity of his work. This being a fixed quantity in his mind, action came next.

A man of ordinary temper would have been appalled by the difficulties and perplexities of carrying on simultaneously the number of big projects which he had decided to execute. For him the greatness of the under-

taking was only a stimulus. No demand was ever made upon the resources of his mind which he did not seem able to meet with ease.

The results which he sought were to be accomplished chiefly within the secluded field of the Church's inner councils. He must work by processes that were often long and intricate. He could not summon to his support a body of public opinion after the manner of a statesman, for the Church aims above and beyond public opinion, striving always toward the permanent and discarding the transitory.

His resources of statesmanship were to be drawn upon to the utmost. He was to share in the larger thought and guidance of the Church and, to a great degree, in the larger thought and guidance of humanity as a whole; for most of his projects were not essentially ecclesiastical but reached out for general benefits in which all would share.

Apart from determination, adroitness was his greatest resource, and of this he was a master. Probably there was no man in his time superior to him in the skilful marshaling of legitimate forces on the side of some cause which he wished to advance. He carefully calculated elements of opposition and as carefully planned to remove them by means in which only a man of his versatility could be adept.

He could count upon no applause to encourage him in the stages of his task. Often he must wait wearily for the final accomplishment before any verdict could be rendered either by the ultimate court of judgment at Rome or the opinion of his fellow men.

His work lay in two continents and nobody knew bet-

ter than he that the American mind was different from the European mind in regard to many points of public policy at that time, although he felt convinced that this difference would be lessened with the progress of years. His overwhelming wish was to remove every obstacle that impeded the spread of the Church in America, and every obstacle to the full exercise of her influence in sustaining and upholding the institutions of his country as a bulwark of human liberties, potent for the welfare of millions already, and millions yet to be born.

Essentially his program was that of a churchman. Temperamentally he was both churchman and statesman. Foremost of all, he had the ready faculty of winning confidence and attracting men to his side. The simplicity and directness of his appeals were no less marked than their cogency. None questioned his intense sincerity, his Catholicity, his patriotism; and where he was able to exert a direct influence he was usually able to command in the end confidence in his judgment.

All that was in him he assembled for the work that lay before him. Even his physique seemed to expand under the uplifting influence that inspired him. He worked ceaselessly and wrote much. Thought came to him quickly, almost as an inspiration; he was never at a loss as to how to proceed. When difficulties obstructed him in one direction, he tried another road. Sustained throughout by an intense belief in the justice of his reasoned decisions and by a sublime reliance upon Providence, he was almost irresistible, as some of those who sought to impede him soon came to know.

These wide conceptions were formed amid the peace

of his little workshop in the archiepiscopal residence in Baltimore, a room whose appearance of placidity contrasted with the conflicts upon which he unhesitatingly resolved to embark. Against one wall of this study was a writing desk; shelves full of books took up much of the space of the other walls. There were a few leather-covered easy chairs, and a carpet upon the floor that was plain and often worn. That was all. Simplicity pervaded the apartment as it did the soul of its occupant. Here in these surroundings he planned his campaigns; here he consulted the powerful group of advisers and lieutenants whom he assembled; here he conducted one of the most extensive correspondences in the world; here he was baffled in defeats, which were few, and he rejoiced in victories, which were many. For thirty-five years influences radiated from that little room which were felt in the most distant regions of the earth, wherever the Catholic Church is a force in guiding the lives of men.

CHAPTER XVII

SPEECH IN ROME ON CHURCH AND STATE

With American swiftness—for Cardinal Gibbons in his personal traits and methods in the active affairs of life exhibited to an unusual degree the characteristics commonly attributed to his fellow countrymen—he proceeded to the heart of his task. When he went to Rome in the winter of 1887 for the ancient ceremony of the conferring of the red hat upon him, the thought uppermost in his mind was far beyond the obvious perspective of ceremony and public spectacle. Ever a keen judge of time and place for his most significant acts, he was prepared to sow the seed of his ideas whence it might be scattered most widely over the Christian world.

New demonstrations of popular esteem marked his departure from New York, and in Paris he was extensively entertained. Arriving in Rome, he became the center of an influential American representation there assembled, including Monsignor O'Connell, then rector of the American College; Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Keane and others. Among such churchmen as these he was at home both as leader and friend.

Conferences with the Pope ensued, at which conditions in America were discussed; and on St. Patrick's Day, at a public consistory in the Sala Regia, the Pontiff be-

INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA IN TRASTEVERE, ROME

Cardinal Gibbons' Titular Church

stowed the hat and ring and performed the ceremony of sealing and opening the lips.

To Cardinal Gibbons was assigned as his titular church the ancient basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere. Standing in that church March 25, the day of his installation there, he delivered a message from America to Europe whose echoes resounded immediately. He wore the scarlet cassock, signifying that he would defend the faith even to the shedding of his blood, as in the days when Christians were thrown to the lions in the Colosseum, not far distant. Surrounding him was the centuried magnificence of architecture, painting, statue, mosaic. The long ceremonial eloquently bespoke the story of Christianity from the age of Constantine, through the glories of Charlemagne, the brilliancy of the Italian Renaissance and the reconstruction of modern Europe. It was carried out with the precise formalism of early Rome and in the majestic tongue in which martyrs praised God as they went to their death. The atmosphere was rich with incense and vibrant with sacred music. Vestment and altar denoted antiquity. It was an occasion to overpower the senses, to hush the voice of the present in the shadow of the accumulated grandeur and wisdom of the past.

But the voice that spoke was not of the past; it was a voice from a continent unknown during fourteen centuries of the Church's life, and from a man appearing as the interpreter of a new people who had spread in millions with incredible rapidity over that continent. Gibbons spoke as if by inspiration, for he had not intended to make an address on that occasion beyond the brief

response necessary to his participation in the ceremony. Only a few days before Mgr. O'Connell had advised him to extend his discourse and he had coincided in that view. He said:

"The assignment to me by the Holy Father of this beautiful basilica as my titular church fills me with feelings of joy and gratitude which any words of mine are inadequate to express. For, as here in Rome I stand within the first temple raised in honor of the ever-blessed Virgin Mary, so in my far-off home, my own Cathedral Church, the oldest in the United States, is also dedicated to the Mother of God. This venerable edifice in which we are gathered leads us back in contemplation to the days of the catacombs. Its foundation was laid by Pope Calixtus in the year of our Lord 224. It was restored by Pope Julius in the fourth century, and renovated by another Supreme Pontiff in the twelfth.

"That never-ceasing solicitude which the Sovereign Pontiffs have exhibited in erecting these material temples, which are the glory of this city, they have also manifested on a larger scale in rearing spiritual walls to Zion throughout Christendom in every age. Scarcely were the United States formed into an independent government, when Pope Pius VII established a Catholic Hierarchy and appointed the illustrious John Carroll the first Bishop of Baltimore. Our Catholic community in those days numbered a few thousand souls, and they were scattered chiefly through the States of New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland. They were served by a mere handful of priests. But now, thanks to the fructifying grace of God, the grain of mustard seed then planted has grown to a large tree, spreading its branches through the length and breadth of our fair land. Where only one Bishop was found in the beginning of this century, there are now seventy-five exercising spiritual jurisdiction. *For this*

great progress we are indebted, under God and the fostering vigilance of the Holy See, to the civil liberty we enjoy in our enlightened republic.

"Our Holy Father, Leo XIII, in his luminous encyclical on the constitution of Christian States,[1] declares that the Church is not committed to any form of civil government. *She adapts herself to all.* She leavens all with the sacred leaven of the Gospel. She has lived under absolute monarchies, under constitutional monarchies, in free republics, and everywhere she grows and expands.

"She has often, indeed, been hampered in her Divine mission. She has even been forced to struggle for her existence wherever despotism has cast its dark shadow, like a plant shut out from the blessed light of heaven. *But in the genial atmosphere of liberty she blossoms like a rose.*

"For myself, as a citizen of the United States, and without closing my eyes to our shortcomings as a nation, I say, with a deep sense of pride and gratitude, that *I belong to a country where the civil government holds over us the aegis of its protection, without interfering with us in the legitimate exercise of our sublime mission as ministers of the Gospel of Christ. Our country has liberty without license, and authority without despotism.* She rears no wall to exclude the stranger from among us. She has few frowning fortifications to repel the invader, for she is at peace with all the world. She rests secure in the consciousness of her strength and her good will toward all. Her harbors are open to welcome the honest emigrant who comes to advance his temporal interests and find a peaceful home.

"But, while we are acknowledged to have a free gov-

[1] Cardinal Gibbons afterwards said that he had taken this encyclical as the "text of my remarks" at his installation in his titular church. (Sermon on "Personal Reminiscences of Leo XIII," delivered in the Baltimore Cathedral in April, 1902.)

ernment, *perhaps we do not receive the credit that belongs to us for having, also, a strong government.* Yes, our nation is strong, and her strength lies, under the overruling guidance of Providence, in the majesty and supremacy of the law, in the loyalty of her citizens and in the affection of her people for her free institutions. There are, indeed, grave social problems now employing the earnest attention of the citizens of the United States, but I have no doubt that, with God's blessing, these problems will be solved by the calm judgment and sound sense of the American people, without violence or revolution, or any injury to individual right.

"As an evidence of his good will for the great republic in the West, as a mark of his appreciation for the venerable Hierarchy of the United States, and as an expression of his kind consideration for the ancient See of Baltimore, our Holy Father has been graciously pleased to elevate its present incumbent, in my humble person, to the dignity of the purple. For this mark of his exalted favor I beg to tender the Holy Father my profound thanks in my own name and in the name of the clergy and faithful. I venture to thank him also in the name of my venerable colleagues, the Bishops, as well as the clergy and Catholic laity of the United States. *I presume also to thank him in the name of our separated brethren in America, who, though not sharing our faith, have shown that they are not insensible—indeed, that they are deeply sensible—of the honor conferred upon our common country,* and have again and again expressed their admiration for the enlightened statesmanship and apostolic virtues and benevolent character of the illustrious Pontiff who now sits in the Chair of St. Peter."

The force of this pronouncement could not be mistaken, for in Europe some form of union of Church and State was then considered normal by both Catholics and Protes-

tants and the view lingered that separation implied antagonism. The speech was "characteristically American," they said in Rome. Here was a Cardinal, barely out of his first consistory, daring to assert in the very citadel of the Church that separation in the United States did not mean hostility by the State to the Church, but protection; that in the air of perfect freedom, unhampered by political bonds, the Church could work out her Divine mission better and more quickly; that union of Church and State often meant interference, and that American liberty meant the opportunity to win men to the faith free from the vexation of human complications.

The message which the Cardinal sought to convey, as he said afterward, was that "our duty is to preach the Gospel and save souls"; that it is wisest to separate entirely the ministry of Christ from politics, unless some great moral question is involved; that this course is better for the Church everywhere. He felt that in time comprehension of the American system would grow; but some one must be considered radical in launching the first official declaration of it in the higher circles of the Church, and he did not shrink from fulfilling that trying mission.

Adroitly based as his speech was upon a declaration by the reigning Pontiff in the precision of an encyclical, criticism was disarmed and powerless. In the letter *Immortale Dei*, issued less than two years before [2] Leo had declared:

"The Almighty therefore has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and

[2] November 1, 1885.

the civil, the one being set over Divine and the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and the special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right. . . .

"Whatever, therefore, in things human is of a sacred character, whatever belongs either of its own nature or by reason of the end to which it is referred to the salvation of souls or the worship of God, is subject to the power and judgment of the Church. Whatever is to be ranged under the civil and political order is rightly subject to the civil authority. Jesus Christ has Himself given command, that what is Caesar's is to be rendered to Caesar and that what belongs to God is to be rendered to God." [3]

In a later encyclical [4] Leo vehemently rejected the thought that the Church was seeking political control in any country. He wrote:

"We must indicate a craftily circulated calumny making most odious imputations against Catholics and even against the Holy See itself. It is maintained that that vigor of action inculcated in Catholics for the defense of their faith has for a secret motive much less the safeguarding of their religious interests than the ambition of securing to the Church political domination over the State. Truly this is the revival of a very ancient calumny, as its invention belongs to the first enemies of Christianity. Was it not, first of all, formulated against the adorable person of the Redeemer? . . . 'We have found this man perverting our nation and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar and saying that he is Christ the King.'"

[3] Wynne, the *Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII*, pp. 114–115.
[4] Letter *Au Milieu des Sollicitudes*, February 16, 1892, addressed to the Bishops and faithful of France; Wynne, p. 253.

The declaration on Church and State made by Gibbons in 1887 was one of the first great steps by which Europe, as a whole, has come to understand America better. None had felt more keenly than American Catholics the lack of comprehension of their country abroad, in the first century of the Republic's existence, although many of them understood the natural causes of this lack. Bishops and laymen had shared the feeling, for it had been an obstacle to the success of the efforts for the expansion of the Church. They hailed with joy the fact that Cardinal Gibbons had risen, as if by act of Providence, to remove the obstruction. With one bold stroke he had crippled an active force for that intolerance in America which Catholics had endured so long.

Now Europe understands America as never before, and imitates her in many things. The life of Gibbons exerted a powerful influence in the direction of that understanding. It opened the way for a renewal of the brotherhood that had been broken when the men and women who colonized the Western world had fled from conditions in Europe, determining that there should be in the future as little bond as possible between them and the scene of their old lives. The Spanish-American War opened mutual comprehension still wider, and the World War widest of all. Gibbons lived to see these convulsions supplement and amplify a change in European opinion which, virtually unaided, he had striven by peaceful means many years before to bring about.

The general idea of a better comprehension by Europe and America of each other appealed to him, as to Leo XIII, as a part of the work which they felt called

upon to do. It was one of the dearest wishes of Leo to conciliate the great mass of Americans, in order that the apostolic mission of the Church among them might proceed unimpeded. It was one of the dearest wishes of Gibbons to reciprocate that ardent desire from his distant seat in the western hemisphere and to hasten it toward realization with all the resources that he could command in a life of untiring labor. Leo spoke as Pope, detached from all nations. Gibbons spoke as head of the primatial See in America, whose Catholicity was the Catholicity of Leo, and whose patriotism was the patriotism of the fathers of the republic.

Gibbons did not aim in his speech in Rome to prescribe conditions for Europe. It was for America only that he spoke. And he denied with all the vigor that he could summon the imputation that the American Government was irreligious or hostile to religion in any way. He emphasized this point in a later utterance, saying:

"American Catholics rejoice in our separation of Church and State, and I can conceive no combination of circumstances likely to arise which would make a union desirable to either Church or State. We know the blessings of our arrangement; it gives us liberty and binds together priests and people in a union better than Church and State. Other countries, other manners; we do not believe our system adapted to all conditions. We leave it to Church and State in other lands to solve their problems for their own best interests. For ourselves, we thank God that we live in America, 'in this happy country of ours,' to quote Mr. Roosevelt, where 'religion and liberty are natural allies.'" [5]

[5] "The Church and the Republic," Cardinal Gibbons in the *North American Review* for March, 1909.

On another occasion he said:

"And happily for the nation, this humble recognition of a superintending power has been upheld from the dawn of the Republic to our time. What a striking contrast we present in this respect to our sister republic across the Atlantic, which once bore the proud title of 'Eldest Daughter of the Church'! The leaders of the French Republic are so far carried away by the tide of unbelief that they studiously eliminate the name of God from their official utterances.

"How different is the conduct of our leaders and statesmen! They have all paid homage to the moral governor of the world. All the Presidents of the United States . . . have invariably invoked the aid of our Heavenly Father in their inaugural proclamations. It is also the edifying custom of our Chief Magistrate to invite his fellow-citizens to assemble in their respective places of worship on the last Thursday in November, to offer thanksgiving to the Giver of all gifts for the blessings vouchsafed to the nation. Both houses of Congress are daily opened with prayer and all important civic and political conventions are inaugurated by an appeal to the throne of Grace. God's supremacy is also recognized by the observance of the Christian Sabbath throughout the land.

"It is true, indeed, that we have no official union of Church and State in this country. But we are not to infer from this fact that there is any antagonism between the civil and religious authorities, nor does it imply any indifference to religious principles. Far from it. Church and State move in parallel lines." [6]

The Cardinal had been much impressed by his observation of conditions in Europe arising out of the relations

[6] Sermon on "Will the American Republic Endure?" delivered in the Baltimore Cathedral November 3, 1912.

then maintained between Church and State. In his sermon at the consecration of the Baltimore Cathedral [7] he had given perhaps his first public expression of a view which he repeated in various forms afterward. He said:

"Many persons labor under the erroneous impression that the crowned heads of Europe have been the unvarying bulwarks of the Church, and that she could not subsist without them. The truth is, her worst enemies have been, with some honorable exceptions, so-called Christian princes. They wished to be governed by no law but their passion and caprice. They chafed under the salutary discipline of the Church, and wished to be rid of her because she alone in times of depression had the power and the courage to stand by the people. She planted herself like a wall of brass against the encroachments of their rulers. . . . She told them that 'if the people have their obligations, they have their rights, too.'"

The Cardinal's message on that March day in 1887 was to all Europe, the Protestant as well as the Catholic part of it. In fact, he considered that the forms of union which then existed between various States of Europe and Protestant creeds had impeded religion most of all. The Catholic Church, he pointed out, had always retained her spiritual independence. Wherever she had formed a union with the State, it had been an alliance of independent powers, not the subjection of a vassal to her liege lord. He once wrote:

"Whenever in Europe the opportunity presented itself, the various Protestant Churches united with the State, nay, rather they threw themselves at the feet of the State,

[7] May 25, 1876.

and said 'Rule thou over us; be thou our king and prophet.' . . .

"There is a union that is inimical to the interests of religion and consequently to the State; and there is a separation that is inimical to the interests of religion and consequently to the State; and there is a separation that is for the best interests of both. In our country separation is a necessity; and it is a separation that works best for the interests of religion, as Mr. Taft recently said, as well as for the good of the State. I fully agree with him, and I can understand too, and sympathize with the great Catholic leader of France, the Count de Mun, who recently exclaimed: 'In America separation means the reign of liberty; in France the reign of impiety.' . . .

"Her [the Church's] doctrine on the subject has been this: In a country wholly or predominantly Catholic, the most desirable relation is the friendly union and cooperation of Church and State, neither power sacrificing its liberty, and each acknowledging the other. That this is the ideal relation, provided liberty be assured to those not of the established Church, no sensible man can deny. The Catholic Church states in form of doctrine what all history shows to be inevitable—that where the Church and State are practically two names for the nation, viewed as a body of worshippers and as a political entity, it is impossible to prevent an intimate union. If my Protestant friends will show me a free nation that really believes in one religion and has no union of religion with the State, I will believe the Catholic doctrine unwarranted; but, while the union is ideally best, history surely does not prove that it is always practically best." [8]

In a tribute to Archbishop Carroll, delivered in a sermon at the Baltimore Cathedral,[9] Gibbons said:

[8] "The Church and the Republic," Cardinal Gibbons in the *North American Review*.

[9] December 19, 1905.

"He [Archbishop Carroll] did not wish the Church to vegetate as a delicate exotic plant; he wished it to become a sturdy tree, deep-rooted in the soil, to grow with the full bloom and development of the country, accustomed to its climate, braving its storms and invigorated by them, and yielding abundantly the fruits of sanctification."

When he was seventy-nine years old and had observed during a longer period the relations of Church and State in America, Cardinal Gibbons expressed his mature views on the subject, saying:

"The question arises, which is the best arrangement, the official union of Church and State or the mutual independence of both? I have nothing to say in regard to other countries, but our own friendly relation of Church and State without official union is best for us.

"The Church has tried official union of Church and State and she has tried friendly independence. In adhering to the first system she has often been hampered and restrained in her Divine mission by the encroachment of despotic governments. As far as our own country is concerned, I prefer our American system, where there are friendly relations and mutual cooperation, where both move in parallel lines without clash or conflict, each helping the other in the mission it has from God. . . .

"I do not wish to see the day when the Church will invoke and receive Government aid to build our churches or subsidize our clergy. For then the civil rulers might dictate the doctrines we were to preach. May the happy condition now existing among us always continue; when the relations between the clergy and the people will be direct and immediate; when Bishops and priests will bestow on their spiritual children their voluntary labors, their tender solicitude, their paternal affection and pour

out for them their life's blood, if necessary, and when they will receive in return the free-will offerings, the devotion and gratitude of their beloved flocks." [10]

No one was more aware than Gibbons of the commotion which his speech in 1887 in his titular church was bound to cause, but he felt that, though the ground was advanced, it was firm ground. Speaking to a friend on the subject when he was nearly eighty years old, he said:

"I was surprised at my own audacity, but it was in me and I had to say it. And do you know that I never received as much as one reproof for it? But I was careful to save myself by applying my remarks only to this country, and Leo XIII wrote a letter soon afterward in which he expressed about the same views on the practical effects of the separation of Church and State in America. That was a long time ago, and it took a great deal more boldness to say such a thing then than it takes now."

[10] Sermon on "Civil and Religious Liberty" in the Baltimore Cathedral, December 7, 1913.

CHAPTER XVIII

DEFENSE OF ORGANIZED LABOR

Labor's cause clamored for help in high quarters and the issue could not wait. It was in conformity with Cardinal Gibbons' wish, as well as with the current of fast developing events, that the Church should give her answer at the outset of his elevation to the Sacred College.

In the decade immediately preceding that time, great forces of economic discontent had been throbbing in the United States. As the mirage of inflated prosperity that had followed the Civil War waned, labor, which had basked in plenty, was reduced to begging for a dole of employment in the cities, to which a far greater proportion of the population was flocking than ever before. Swayed by a deep sense of wrong, but half blinded in the search for remedies, the workers banded together in unions on a scale that conformed with the immensity of the population, and the sudden growth of those organizations surpassed anything of the kind that the world had known.

Chief among them was the Knights of Labor, an order which from a small beginning swelled in membership by tens of thousands and, like a storm cloud, overspread the political as well as the industrial structure of the country. In the amazing swiftness of its rise, there was confusion as to its designs and, in some quarters, deep suspicion. Its head, Terence V. Powderly, seemed to the

toiling masses a Peter the Hermit called to lead them in a new crusade. Bearing the modest title of "general master workman," he wielded greater power than the governor of a State. He possessed many of the traits of successful leadership and was inspired by a fervent belief in the justice of his cause. Men thronged from the workshops to hail him when he went from city to city proclaiming his evangel.

The wonder of the organization's growth caused an exaggeration of its strength in the popular mind. In 1886 it had a membership of 500,000, "although," as Powderly said to a committee of Congress, "we have been credited with 5,000,000."[1] Simultaneously with this movement, Henry George's economic theories were fast winning converts, particularly in New York, his home, where the influence of his powerful personality was naturally felt most.

Labor had begun to knock importunately at the doors of the White House and of Congress. The law against bringing workingmen under contract from abroad had just been passed; the Interstate Commerce Act, a measure almost forced on the government by labor organizations, and an extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the impetus for which came from the same insistent quarter, were being debated and were soon to be adopted. The administration of President Cleveland had committed itself to the establishment of a Department of Labor as a unit in the executive system at Washington. The anarchist riots in Chicago, with their bloody climax, had shocked the nation but a few months before.

[1] Carroll D. Wright, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, p. 248.

Some observers abroad who were distrustful of the solidity of American institutions began to predict a convulsion that would wreck the Republic. In countries habituated to the methods of militarism, then generally prevalent in Europe, it was believed that a government which maintained a standing army scarcely large enough to man its coast defenses and a navy which at that time was obsolete could not withstand the shock of a popular tumult. Political equality, it was feared, had no corrective within itself for a sudden rising from the bottom. If the laborer were equal to the capitalist before the law, would he not rave in unrestrained power, it was asked, as soon as he was able to comprehend what his opportunities really meant?

In the earlier days of the United States, the labor question had adjusted itself; there had been land enough for all; work for every hand; the laborer of to-day became the employer of to-morrow. Capital was unorganized and labor had felt no especial need to band together for its own protection. In the carnival of energy which had subdued half of the continent in a century, building teeming cities on virgin soil and spreading new commonwealths in bewildering succession from the Atlantic to the Pacific, men had been too busily engaged in constructive undertakings to debate the ethics of the labor problem.

But the work had now advanced far and there was time to pause. Railroads spanned the continent and radiated in every direction. Civilization had carried its banner up the Rocky Mountains and to the shores of the Golden Gate. The army of workingmen was still in being, but

there was not so much work. Nearly all of the desirable lands opened by the government to free settlement had been taken up. The economic pendulum was beginning to swing, and times of scarcity were as certain to come as periods of plenty.

American workingmen were not prepared for this. They were no more ready to meet a sudden and general economic change than were the rural colonists to face the cannon's mouth in 1775. As they began to grope for a solution, anarchy, imported from Europe, found here what its arch plotters believed to be fertile soil for their propaganda. Socialism swept across the ocean and began its preachments in the cities. Vast industries had sprung up whose captains aimed to control politicians and legislatures. Before them dangled the gilded prize of monopoly.

At heart the body politic was healthy; these were merely sores that had not reached the organism, though they grievously affected the surface. In time their poison might penetrate to the heart; none could tell. It might be that once again men would take arms in their hands to work out the problems of free government amid the crash of battle.

Some employers of labor, particularly street railway companies and industrial corporations which the Knights antagonized, developed the practise of sending agents to observe the meetings of the order and by such means were able to proscribe its members. This led to the Knights investing their meetings with a sufficient degree of secrecy to prevent knowledge of the acts of individuals from reaching those hostile to them. Suspicion of their

purposes, which had already taken lodgment in a large body of public opinion, was intensified by the mystery thus thrown around them both in the United States and in Canada, where the order was also strong. They were accused before the Catholic Hierarchy of Canada as a secret society working against religion. That body adjudged them a forbidden organization, and this condemnation was sustained by the Congregation of the Holy Office.

Action by the Hierarchy of the United States thus became imperative, as the principles and methods of the order were the same in both countries. Under the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, the Knights could be condemned in the United States by unanimous action of the Archbishops; or, in case the Archbishops disagreed, the case could be referred to Rome.

The problem was now squarely before Gibbons, upon whom would fall the duty of convoking the Archbishops for a decision, and who, as the only Cardinal in the United States, was bound to face an exceptional degree of responsibility for the action that might be taken. He had felt deep anxiety regarding the special economic tendencies then operative in America, which reduced more and more the free opportunities that labor previously enjoyed. At a later date, he gave his views on this point as they had occurred to him when he was immediately confronted by the need of a decision in regard to the Knights of Labor. He wrote:

"Those who live in these days [2] cannot conceive the state of society in the seventies and the eighties. The

[2] 1916.

money of the country was not only concentrated in the hands of a very few people, but by means of this money this small oligarchy was put in a position of getting complete control of our free institutions. The mass of people, dispossessed of land and of the means of production and retaining only a figment of political power, were by no means satisfied with this arrangement. All the more so as large numbers of the working people—that is to say the dispossessed—were members of the Catholic Church, and among Roman Catholics there is, and must always be a memory of a better tradition which preserved to every man as much individual liberty as was compatible with the rights of his fellow men.

"Accordingly numerous societies for the protection of the workingman rose during the administration of President Cleveland—societies to which working people began to adhere more and more steadfastly as their only protection from economic slavery, but which were vehemently attacked upon the other side as destructive, revolutionary and even anarchic; and indeed the oppression of the wealthy was driving the poor into excesses, of which the anarchist riots of Chicago were but one example.

"These societies could not long escape the wise oversight of the Church, and it was a foregone conclusion that within a few years the principle of such organizations of working people must either be approved or condemned." [3]

It was brought home to the Cardinal in the violent clashes of opinion which marked discussions regarding labor at that time that many Bishops were in grave alarm over what they considered to be revolutionary tendencies by the labor organizations. While Gibbons recognized these tendencies, he had no fear of them. The chief cause of concern to him was the prospect of the Church being

[3] Cardinal Gibbons, *Retrospect of Fifty Years, Vol. I,* pp. 187–188.

presented before the age as the friend of the powerful rich and the enemy of the helpless poor. He felt that "the one body in the world which had been the protector of the poor and the weak for nearly eighteen hundred years could not possibly desert these same classes in their hour of need." [4]

As a preparation for his course, he conferred on the question of the Knights of Labor and related social and political conditions with President Cleveland, with whom he was on terms of personal friendship. He also maintained an active correspondence with Cardinal Manning, the Church's apostle of labor in England. In his letters to Manning he explained his views fully [5] and rejoiced to find his own ideas on the relations between capital and labor shared by one occupying such a distinguished position in the other grand division of the English speaking world. Manning considered that Gibbons was bound to do a great and needed work in America in advancing the position of the laboring classes.

Gibbons summoned Powderly to Baltimore and conferred with him on several occasions at the archiepiscopal residence. His keen mind searched out in these interviews the essentials of the organization and purposes of the Knights, as they related not only to Church rules and traditions, but also to the general consideration of labor's elevation to meet the new needs of the times, and the lifting of unjust burdens that galled its back.

Fortified with the fullest information on the question which he could obtain from any source, he called a meet-

[4] *Retrospect,* Vol. I, p. 188.
[5] Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning, Vol. II,* pp. 650–651.

ing of the Archbishops in Baltimore, before whom Powderly appeared by his invitation. At that meeting he asked Powderly to explain to the prelates the precise extent of the obligation of secrecy among the Knights. Powderly convinced them that secrecy was enjoined on the members only by a simple pledge and not by an oath; that it was approved by the Knights only in so far as it was necessary to protect their business from enemies or strangers. The pledge was not such, he showed, as to hinder Catholics from manifesting everything in the confessional, or preventing the heads of the order from giving full information to competent ecclesiastical authority even outside of confession.

Some of the Archbishops were by no means ready to part with their doubts as to the order. Even the enlightened Ryan was difficult to convince and Gibbons said later of his attitude on the subject: "At first I had a great deal of trouble with him, but he came over to my way of thinking at last." In the end, only two of the twelve Archbishops—Kenrick, of St. Louis, and Salpointe, of Santa Fé—voted for condemnation.

Of the bold acts of a bold life, Gibbons was now to undertake one of the most amazing. The Congregation of the Holy Office—the former "Inquisition"—had never reversed itself in all its long history. In the general attitude expressed in its condemnation of the Knights, it was sustained by what was then the preponderant public opinion of the world. To attempt to obtain a reversal seemed, in many eyes, nothing short of rash. When it became known that the young American Cardinal was resolved to make the attempt, extreme conservatives

among European churchmen were disposed to shudder. He was assailed, in and out of religious circles, as quixotic, radical, even Socialistic. Epithets accumulated intensity as the tide of surprise rose higher.

Gibbons knew that at the outset of the fight he bore the standard of a feeble cause. But he was sustained by an unshaken belief that he was striving, as he said, in behalf of "the only possible course for the Church to take." He accepted hostility as inevitable from the conditions of the time, but his eyes were fixed on a goal beyond those conditions. He wrote later:

"Amid how many fears such a course was taken nobody now can realize since Leo XIII has settled forever in his wonderful encyclical Rerum Novarum the principles of economics which are alone consonant with the Gospel. It seemed as if in taking the course which some of us took . . . we were destroying the Church's reputation for conservatism as well as her usefulness as a conserver of society; that we Bishops of the Church of God were making of ourselves demagogues and the harbingers of the red revolution." [6]

In truth the Knights might have become Socialistic, had a program of repression been maintained against them. But in Gibbons' view, to condemn the order was to condemn labor, for it was the one large organization in the United States and Canada then identified in the public mind with the new movement to assert labor's rights. He had wished to discover if evils existed in the order which could be remedied; and Powderly had promised both him and the Archbishops to alter anything in its

[6] *Retrospect*, Preface, p. 12.

constitution and laws which the Church might declare to be repugnant.

His natural sympathy with the cause of labor disposed him to be lenient with its faults while the movement was in a formative stage. He realized that many of its leaders were untrained, burning with a sense of injustice and therefore overzealous—in some cases even reckless. Every expedient, in his opinion, must be used to lead the movement into such channels that the Church could be its friend, even its defender. He firmly held that the danger would be reduced by sympathy for the real wrongs which were the basis of the entire agitation. The movement, it appeared to him, was a process of evolution. While it must be guided, it must not be coerced. It must be allowed to spend its force and break at last, like an ominous wave that disappears in foam, upon the rocks of intelligence, soberness and calm public judgment.

He was emboldened in his stand by the fact that the Knights not only showed no hostility to religion, but that their declarations were of the opposite tenor. Powderly was a Catholic; he told the Cardinal that he practised his religion faithfully and received the sacraments regularly; that he was not a member of the Masons or any other association which the Church had condemned. He was aware of nothing in the organization of the Knights, he vehemently asserted, which was contrary to the laws of the Church.

The Cardinal found that President Cleveland did not see anything in the methods of the Knights which was unpatriotic or hostile to national institutions. The Presi-

dent had expressed sympathy with labor akin to his own when they had conferred and he told the Cardinal of steps on which he was then meditating for the amelioration of social grievances by legislation. The Cardinal was impressed by the fact that Congress was striving earnestly for the passage of laws that would assert some of the elementary rights of the working population, and he did not wish the Church to take a stand that would be less liberal and progressive than that of the civil authorities.

Besides, the battle against economic monopoly enlisted his fervent support. He saw in the growth of monopoly a danger not only to the just interests of labor, but also to American institutions as a whole, and he felt that the control of the country by organized wealth must be prevented at all costs.

Within the Church the argument had been pressed that the faith of Catholics was imperiled by their mixing with Protestants in the Knights of Labor. The Cardinal could not see in this any solid basis for condemnation, for he held that in the great body of the American people, a majority of whom were non-Catholics, it was impossible and indeed highly undesirable to separate persons of different religious creeds in civil affairs. He had confidence in the fidelity with which American Catholic workmen clung to their faith, and was most anxious to prevent them from distrusting the Church or ceasing to regard her as the friend of the poor. The organization of Catholic labor confraternities, in which the clergy would be present and exert their direct influence, he did not consider necessary.

One of the most weighty grounds for the indictment of organized labor was naturally the violence which had accompanied some of the then recent strikes. No one deplored violence in labor struggles more than the Cardinal, but he was not willing to commit himself to a general denouncement of the Knights for that reason, because the chief officers of that order reproved violence and exercised their influence to a marked extent in preventing strikers from transgressing the limits of legitimate action.

Above all, he felt that what he termed "the simple rights of humanity and justice" were being denied, and that they could not be restored without some regrettable lapses into errors of both speech and action. He was sure in his own mind that condemnation by the Church would not stop either the growth of the Knights or the labor movement, but that it would only embitter labor against her who had been its champion for centuries. The most weighty concerns of the immediate future, he held, were social.

As the essence of the question presented itself to his mind, condemnation of the Knights was not only unnecessary, but actually dangerous to the Church. He felt that it would tend to encourage the cry that the Church was un-American in the sense that she would be resisting a movement which the governing powers of the country were disposed to recognize as based upon justice. He also expressed the view that condemnation would fail of its object because he did not believe that the submission of Catholic workingmen in the United States to such a course could be obtained.

Several Bishops in France, and not a small number of Catholic writers, voiced alarm at the advanced and liberal views of Gibbons and Manning. The element in England which was unable to understand the great purposes of Manning was eager to cry "beware!"; but in America, as the task of Gibbons developed and the real significance of what he was doing came to be clearly seen, the tone of comment in and out of the Church became more and more one of heartening support.

When Gibbons sailed for Europe to receive the red hat, he had determined to remain in Rome and wage the battle for labor until it resulted in victory or defeat. He knew well that the atmosphere which he was about to enter was hostile to his views; and he was further obstructed by the fact that every appeal that he could make was to be met by a counter appeal from Canada. One of his companions on the voyage to Europe was Cardinal Taschereau, on whom also the red hat was to be bestowed, and part of whose mission in the Eternal City was to urge adherence to the judgment condemning the Knights, which Gibbons had set himself to challenge.

In Rome Gibbons organized his campaign with the skill of a master of statecraft. With the active help of Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Keane and Monsignor O'Connell, he used argument and pressure in turn upon every member of the Congregation of the Holy Office to produce a change of view. In the face of what seemed like a stone wall of opposition, all his aggressiveness was aroused. One of the chief obstacles that stood in his way was the attitude of the Commissary of the Holy Office, with whom he had a heated interview, declaring

that he would hold him responsible for the loss of souls in America if the Knights were condemned. At the end of the interview, that important official promised to consider the question anew.

Only those hostile to the Knights had been previously heard at Rome. Opinion, fixed and deliberate, had to be assailed in its powerful citadel. Gibbons declared to those upon whom he exerted his influence that if the condemnation were allowed to stand it would be ruinous to the financial support of the Church in the United States; that it would turn into doubt and hostility the attitude of the people toward the Holy See, and would lessen the contributions of Peter's Pence.

Through all the tension of the struggle he was sustained by the influence of Manning. He wrote to the English Cardinal March 14, 1887:

"Your esteemed and valued favor is received, in which your Eminence is graciously pleased to assent to the views submitted to the Propaganda regarding . . . the Knights of Labor. I cannot sufficiently express to you how much I felt strengthened in my position by being able to refer . . . to your utterances on the claims of the working man to our sympathy, and how I am cheered beyond measure in receiving from your own pen an endorsement of my sentiments and those of my American colleagues now in Rome. God grant that the Church of America may escape the dire calamity of a condemnation which would be disastrous to the future of religion among us!

"I shall be exceedingly grateful to your Eminence if you can send me a copy of the lecture on 'The Dignity and Rights of Labor.' We are indebted more than you are aware to the influence of your name in discussing these social questions and in influencing the public mind. We

joyfully adopt your Eminence into the ranks of our Knighthood;[7] you have nobly won your spurs!" [8]

Manning lost no opportunity of urging assent at Rome to the stand taken by Gibbons. He used the effective argument that trade unions had originated in the Collegia of Rome, saying: "In the Church of Santa Maria dell' Orto every chapel belongs to and is maintained by some college or universitas of various trades."

[7] A form of expression which Cardinal Gibbons used several times in his correspondence with Cardinal Manning regarding the Knights of Labor question.

[8] Leslie, *Henry Edward Manning, His Life and Labours*, pp. 361–362.

CHAPTER XIX

A MEMORABLE LETTER TO ROME

Cardinal Gibbons' personal campaign in Rome in behalf of the Knights of Labor was greatly reenforced by formal appeals directed to the authorities of the Church. Under date of February 20, 1887, he addressed to Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, for presentation to the Holy Office, a report on the whole subject which was one of the strongest documents he ever wrote. It was marked not only by broad statesmanship, searching logic and enlightened foresight, but by a frankness in setting forth the dangers which he believed to be involved in condemnation of the Knights that was little short of audacious.

He declared that any attempt to crush by ecclesiastical condemnation a body of men in which was massed a strength of more than 500,000 voters in America would be considered by the people of the country as "not less ridiculous than rash." It would involve the risk of a waning of the esteem which the Church had won among Americans, and of "forfeiting the peace and prosperity which form so admirable a contrast with her condition in some so-called Catholic countries." He warned that "angry utterances have not been wanting of late, and it is well that we should act prudently."

On the question of the effectiveness of condemnation, if pronounced, he urged:

"It is well to recognize that in our age and in our country obedience cannot be blind; we would greatly deceive ourselves if we expect it. . . . Our Catholic workingmen sincerely believe that they are seeking justice and seeking it by legitimate means. Condemnation would be considered both false and unjust and therefore not binding. . . . They love the Church, and they wish to save their souls; but they must also earn their living, and labor is now so organized that without belonging to the organization it is almost impossible to earn one's living."

His vision extended to forecasting the decline of the Knights of Labor as an important body of workingmen, which actually came to pass; this was one of the most moving arguments which he used. The organization, he declared, was "unstable and transient;" but the social agitation would continue and to strike at one of the forms which it took "would be to commence a war without system and without end." [1]

"Hence," he added, "to speak with the most profound respect, but also with the frankness which duty requires of me, it seems to me that prudence suggests, and that even the dignity of the Church demands, that we should not offer to America an ecclesiastical protection for which

[1] While there were 500,000 members of the Knights of Labor and 125,000 members of the American Federation of Labor at that time, the aggregate of these two was, as Cardinal Gibbons believed, insignificant when compared with the proportions which the movement would attain. The Knights, as he predicted, subsequently declined fast as an organization; but he lived to see the membership of the American Federation reach more than 4,000,000 in 1920. In addition to this, the membership of the railroad brotherhoods, not directly affiliated with the Federation, was 435,000 in the same year.

she does not ask, and of which she believes she has no need."

With the adroitness which he knew well how to use when occasion warranted it, Gibbons gave the Holy Office an opening for reversing itself by pointing out differences in the general conditions of the United States and Canada. He wrote:

"We would consider it an impertinence on our part to meddle with the ecclesiastical affairs of another country which has a Hierarchy of its own, and with whose social conditions we do not pretend to be acquainted. We believe, however, that the circumstances of a people almost entirely Catholic, as in lower Canada, must be very different from those of a mixed population like ours."

The text of this letter,[2] which has formed one of the great charters of the labor movement throughout the world, was:

"*To His Eminence Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda:*

"Your Eminence:

"In submitting to the Holy See the conclusions which, after several months of attentive observation and reflection, seem to me to sum up the truth concerning the association of the Knights of Labor, I feel profoundly convinced of the vast importance of the consequences attaching to this question, which is but a link in the great chain of the social problems of our day, and especially of our country.

"In treating this question I have been very careful to

[2] A copy of the letter in French is in the Cathedral archives, Baltimore. The English translation here given is the one which was published in the *Moniteur de Rome,* then an official organ of the Vatican.

follow as my constant guide the spirit of the encyclical letters, in which our Holy Father Leo XIII has so admirably set forth the dangers of our times and their remedies, as well as the principles by which we are to recognize associations condemned by the Holy See. Such was also the guide of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in its teachings concerning the principles to be followed and the dangers to be shunned by the faithful either in the choice or in the establishment of those various forms of association toward which the spirit of our popular institutions so strongly impels them. And, considering the evil consequences that might result from a mistake in the treatment of organizations which often count their members by thousands and hundreds of thousands, the council wisely ordained that, when an association is spread over several dioceses, not even the Bishop of one of these dioceses shall condemn it, but shall refer the case to a standing committee consisting of all the Archbishops of the United States; and even these are not authorized to condemn, unless their sentence be unanimous; and in case they fail to agree unanimously, then only the supreme tribunal of the Holy See can impose a condemnation; all this in order to avoid error and confusion of discipline.

"This committee of Archbishops held a meeting towards the end of last October, at which the association of the Knights of Labor was specially considered. To this we were not impelled by the request of any of our Bishops, for none of them had asked it; and I must add that among all the Bishops we know of but two or three who desire the condemnation. But our reason was the importance attached to the question by the Holy See itself, and this led us to examine it with all possible care. After our deliberations, the result of which has already been communicated to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, only two out of the twelve Archbishops voted for condemnation; and their reasons were power-

less to convince the others of either the justice or the prudence of such a condemnation.

"In the following considerations I wish to state in detail the reasons which determined the vote of the great majority of the committee—reasons whose truth and force seem to me all the more evident after this lapse of time; nor will I fail to do justice to the arguments advanced on the other side:

"1. In the first place, though there may be found in the constitution, laws and official declarations of the Knights of Labor things that we would not approve, still, we have failed to find in them those elements so clearly pointed out by the Holy See, which would class them among condemned associations:

"(*a*) In their form of initiation there is no oath.

"(*b*) The obligation to secrecy by which they keep the knowledge of their business from enemies or strangers is not such as to hinder Catholics from manifesting everything to competent ecclesiastical authority, even outside of confession. This has been positively declared to us by their chief officers.

"(*c*) They make no promise of blind obedience. The object and laws of the association are distinctly declared, and the obligation of obedience does not go beyond them.

"(*d*) They not only profess no hostility against religion or the Church, but their declarations are quite to the contrary. The Third Plenary Council commands that condemnation shall not be passed on any association without the previous hearing of its officers or representatives. Now, their president, when sending me a copy of their constitution, declared that he is a devoted Catholic; that he practises his religion faithfully and receives the sacraments regularly; that he belongs to no Masonic society or other association condemned by the Church; that he knows nothing in the organization of the Knights of Labor contrary to the laws of the Church; that, with filial

submission, he begs the pastors of the Church to examine their constitution and laws, and to point out anything they may find objectionable, promising to see to its correction. Assuredly, there is in all this no hostility to the authority of the Church, but, on the contrary, a disposition in every way praiseworthy. After their convention, held last year in Richmond, he and several of the principal members, devout Catholics, made similar declarations concerning the action of that convention, the documents of which we expect to receive shortly.

"(*e*) Nor do we find in this organization any hostility to the authority and laws of our country. Not only does nothing of the kind appear in their constitution and laws, but the heads of our civil government treat with respect the cause which such associations represent. The President of the United States told me personally, a few weeks ago, that he then had under consideration a proposed law for the amelioration of certain social grievances, and that he had had a long conversation on these topics with Mr. Powderly, the president of the Knights of Labor. The Congress of the United States, in compliance with the views presented by President Cleveland in his annual message, is at present engaged in framing measures for the improvement of the condition of the laboring classes, in whose complaints they acknowledge that there is a great deal of truth. And our political parties, far from considering them the enemies of the country, vie with each other in championing the evident rights of the workingmen, who seek not to resist or overthrow the laws, but only to obtain just legislation by constitutional and legitimate means.

"These considerations, which show that in these associations those elements are not to be found which the Holy See has condemned, lead us to study, in the second place, the evils which the association contends against and the nature of the conflict.

"2. That there exist among us, as in all other countries of the world, grave and threatening social evils, public injustices which call for strong resistance and legal remedy, is a fact which no one dares to deny—a fact already acknowledged by the Congress and the President of the United States. Without entering into the sad details of these evils, whose full discussion is not necessary, I will only mention that monoplies, on the part of both individuals and of corporations, have everywhere called forth not only the complaints of our working classes, but also the opposition of our public men and legislators; that the efforts of monopolists, not always without success, to control legislation to their own profit, cause serious apprehensions among the disinterested friends of liberty; that the heartless avarice which, through greed of gain, pitilessly grinds not only the men, but even the women and children in various employments, makes it clear to all who love humanity and justice that it is not only the right of the laboring classes to protect themselves, but the duty of the whole people to aid them in finding a remedy against the dangers with which both civilization and social order are menaced by avarice, oppression and corruption.

"It would be vain to dispute either the existence of the evils, or the right of legitimate resistance, or the necessity of a remedy. At most, a doubt might be raised about the legitimacy of the form of resistance and of the remedy employed by the Knights of Labor. This, then, is the next point to be examined.

"3. It can hardly be doubted that, for the attainment of any public end, association—the organization of all interested—is the most efficacious means—a means altogether natural and just. This is so evident, and besides, so conformable to the genius of our country, of our essentially popular social conditions, that it is unnecessary to insist upon it. It is almost the only means to public at-

tention, to give force to the most legitimate resistance, to add weight to the most just demands.

"Now, there already exists an organization which presents innumerable attractions and advantages, but with which our Catholic workingmen, filially obedient to the Holy See, refuse to unite themselves; this is the Masonic Order, which exists everywhere in our country and which, as Mr. Powderly has expressly pointed out to us, unites employers and employed in a brotherhood very advantageous to the latter, but which numbers in its ranks hardly a single Catholic. Nobly renouncing advantages which the Church and conscience forbid, our workingmen join associations in no way in conflict with religion, seeking nothing but mutual protection and help, and the legitimate assertion of their rights. Must they here also find themselves threatened with condemnation, hindered from their only means of self-defense?

"4. Let us now consider the objections made against this sort of organization:

"(*a*) It is objected that in such organization, Catholics are mixed with Protestants, to the peril of their faith. Naturally, yes; they are mixed with Protestants at their work; for, in a mixed people like ours, the separation of religious creeds in civil affairs is an impossibility. But to suppose that the faith of our Catholics suffers thereby is not to know the Catholic working men of America, who are not like the working men of so many European countries—misguided children, estranged from their Mother, the Church, and regarding her with suspicion and dread—but intelligent, well-instructed, and devoted Catholics, ready to give their blood, if necessary, as they continually give their hard-earned means, for her support and protection. And, in fact, it is not here a question of Catholics mixed with Protestants, but rather that Protestants are admitted to share in the advantages of an association, many of whose members and officers are Catholics; and,

in a country like ours, their exclusion would be simply impossible.

"(*b*) But it is asked, instead of such an organization, could there not be confraternities, in which the working men would be united under the direction of the clergy and the influence of religion? I answer frankly that I do not consider this either possible or necessary in our country. I sincerely admire the efforts of this sort which are made in countries where the working people are led astray by the enemies of religion; but thanks be to God, that is not our condition. We find that in our country the presence and direct influence of the clergy would not be advisable where our citizens, without distinction of religious belief, come together in regard to their industrial interests alone. Short of that, we have abundant means for making our working people faithful Catholics; and simple good sense advises us not to go to extremes.

"(*c*) Again, it is objected that, in such organizations, Catholics are exposed to the evil influences of the most dangerous associates, even of atheists, communists and anarchists. That is true; but it is one of those trials of faith which our brave American Catholics are accustomed to meet almost daily, and which they know how to face with good sense and firmness. The press of our country tells us, and the president of the Knights of Labor has related to us, how these violent, aggressive elements have endeavored to control the association, or to inject poison into its principles; but they also inform us with what determination these machinators have been repulsed and beaten.

"The presence among our citizens of those dangerous social elements which have mostly come from certain countries of Europe, is assuredly for us an occasion of great regret and of vigilant precautions; it is a fact, however, which we have to accept, but which the close union between the Church and her children which exists in our

country renders comparatively free from danger. In truth, the only thing from which we would fear serious danger would be a cooling of this relationship between the Church and her children; and I know nothing that would be more likely to occasion it than imprudent condemnations.

"(*d*) A specially weighty charge is drawn from the outbursts of violence, even to bloodshed, which have accompanied several of the strikes inaugurated by labor organizations. Concerning this, three things are to be remarked—first, strikes are not an invention of the Knights of Labor, but a means almost everywhere and always resorted to by the working classes to protect themselves against what they consider injustice, and in assertion of what they believe to be their just rights; secondly, in such a struggle of the poor and indignant multitudes against hard and obstinate monopoly, outbursts of anger are almost as inevitable as they are greatly to be regretted; thirdly, the laws and the chief authorities of the Knights of Labor, far from encouraging violence or the occasions of it, exercise a powerful influence to hinder it, and to retain strikes within the limits of good order and of legitimate action.

"A careful examination of the acts of violence accompanying the struggle between capital and labor last year leaves us convinced that it would be unjust to attribute them to the association of the Knights of Labor; for this association was but one among the numerous labor organizations that took part in the strikes, and their chief officers used every possible effort, as disinterested witnesses testify, to appease the anger of the multitudes, and to hinder the excesses, which therefore, in my judgment, could not justly be attributed to them. Doubtless, among the Knights of Labor, as among the thousands of other working men, there are to be found passionate or even wicked men who have committed inexcusable deeds of

violence, and have instigated their associates to the same; but to attribute this to the association would, it seems to me, be as unreasonable as to attribute to the Church the follies or the crimes of her children against which she strives and protests.

"I repeat that, in such a struggle of the great masses of the people against the mail-clad power which, as it is acknowledged, often refuses them the simple rights of humanity and justice, it is vain to expect that every error and every act of violence can be avoided; and to dream that this struggle can be hindered, or that we can deter the multitudes from organizing, which is their only hope of success, would be to ignore the nature and forces of human society in times like ours. Christian prudence evidently counsels us to hold the hearts of the multitudes by the bonds of love, in order to control their actions by the principles of faith, justice and charity; to acknowledge frankly what is true and just in their cause, in order to deter them from what is false and criminal, and thus to turn into a legitimate, peaceable and beneficent contest what might easily, by a course of repulsive severity, become for the masses of our people a dread volcanic force like unto that which society fears and the Church deplores in Europe.

"Upon this point I insist strongly, because, from an intimate acquaintance with the social conditions of our country, I am profoundly convinced that here we are touching upon a subject which not only concerns the rights of the working classes, who ought to be especially dear to the Church which our Lord sent forth to preach His Gospel to the poor, but with which are intimately bound up the fundamental interests of the Church and of human society for the future. This is a point which I desire, in a few additional words, to develop more clearly.

"5. Whoever meditates upon the ways in which Divine Providence is guiding mankind in our days can not

fail to remark how important is the part which the power of the people takes in shaping the events of the present, and which it is evidently destined to take in molding the destinies of the future. We behold, with profound regret, the efforts of the prince of darkness to make this power dangerous to the social weal by withdrawing the masses of the people from the influence of religion, and impelling them towards the ruinous paths of license and anarchy. Hitherto our country has presented a spectacle of a most consolingly different character—that of a popular power regulated by love of good order, respect for religion, by obedience to the authority of the laws; not a democracy of license and violence, but that true democracy which aims at the general prosperity through the means of sound principles and good social order.

"In order to preserve so desirable a state of things it is absolutely necessary that religion should continue to possess the affections and thus rule the conduct of the multitudes. As Cardinal Manning has well written, 'a new task is before us. The Church has no longer to deal with Parliaments and princes, but with the masses and with the people. Whether we will or no, this is our work; we need a new spirit and a new law of life.' To lose influence over the people would be to lose the future altogether; and it is by the heart, far more than by the understanding, that we must hold and guide this immense power, so mighty either for good or for evil.

"Among all the glorious titles which the Church's history has deserved for her there is not one which at present gives her so great influence as that of 'Friend of the People.' Assuredly, in our democratic country, it is this title which wins for the Catholic Church not only the enthusiastic devotedness of the millions of her children, but also the respect and admiration of all our citizens, whatever be their religious belief. It is the power of this title which renders persecution almost an impossibility, and

which draws towards our Holy Church the great heart of the American people.

"And since it is acknowledged by all that the great questions of the future are not those of war, of commerce or of finance, but the social questions—the questions which concern the improvement of the condition of the great popular masses, and especially of the working people—it is evidently of supreme importance that the Church should always be found on the side of humanity, —of justice towards the multitudes who compose the body of the human family. As the same Cardinal Manning has wisely written, 'I know I am treading on a very difficult subject, but I feel confident of this, that we must face it, and that we must face it calmly, justly, and with a willingness to put labor and the profits of labor second —the moral state and domestic life of the whole working population first. I will not venture to draw up such an act of Parliament further than to lay down this principle. . . . These things (the present condition of the poor in England) can not go on; these things ought not to go on. The accumulation of wealth in the land, the piling up of wealth like mountains, in the possession of classes or individuals, can not go on. No Commonwealth can rest on such foundations.' [3]

"In our country, above all, this social amelioration is the inevitable programme of the future, and the position which the Church should hold towards it is surely obvious. She can certainly not favor the extremes to which the poor multitudes are naturally inclined; but, I repeat, she must withhold them from these extremes by the bonds of affection, by the maternal desire which she will manifest for the concession of all that is just and reasonable in their demands, and by the maternal blessing which she will bestow upon every legitimate means for improving the condition of the people.

[3] *Miscellanies*, Vol. II, p. 81.

"6. Now let us consider for a moment the consequences which would inevitably follow from a contrary course—from a course of want of sympathy for the working class, of suspicion for their aims, of ready condemnation for their methods.

"(*a*) First, there would be the evident danger of the Church's losing, in popular estimation, her right to be considered the friend of the people. The logic of the popular heart goes swiftly to its conclusions, and this conclusion would be most pernicious both for the people and for the Church. To lose the heart of the people would be a misfortune for which the friendship of the few rich and powerful would be no compensation.

"(*b*) There would be a great danger of rendering hostile to the Church the political power of our country, which has openly taken sides with the millions who are demanding justice and the improvement of their condition. The accusation of being un-American—that is to say, alien to our national spirit—is the most powerful weapon which the enemies of the Church can employ against her. It was this cry which aroused the Know Nothing persecution thirty years ago, and the same would be used again if the opportunity offered. To appreciate the gravity of this danger it is well to remark that not only are the rights of the working classes loudly proclaimed by each of our two great political parties, but it is not improbable that, in our approaching national elections, there will be a candidate for the office of President of the United States as the special representative of the popular complaints and demands.

"Now, to seek to crush by an ecclesiastical condemnation an organization which represents more than 500,000 votes, and which has already so respectable and so universally recognized a place in the political arena, would, to speak frankly, be considered by the American people as not less ridiculous than rash. To alienate from our-

selves the friendship of the people would be to run great risk of losing the respect which the Church has won in the estimation of the American nation, and of forfeiting the peace and prosperity which form so admirable a contrast with her condition in some so-called Catholic countries. Angry utterances have not been wanting of late, and it is well that we should act prudently.

"(*c*) A third danger—and the one which most keenly touches our hearts—is the risk of losing the love of the children of the Church, and of pushing them into an attitude of resistance against their Mother. The world presents no more beautiful spectacle than that of their filial devotion and obedience; but it is well to recognize that, in our age and in our country, obedience can not be blind. We would greatly deceive ourselves if we expected it. Our Catholic working men sincerely believe that they are only seeking justice, and seeking it by legitimate means. A condemnation would be considered both false and unjust, and, therefore, not binding. We might preach to them submission and confidence in the Church's judgment; but these good dispositions could hardly go so far. They love the Church, and they wish to save their souls; but they must also earn their living, and labor is now so organized that without belonging to the organization, it is almost impossible to earn one's living.

"Behold, then, the consequences to be feared. Thousands of the Church's most devoted children, whose affection is her greatest comfort, and whose free offerings are her chief support, would consider themselves repulsed by their Mother and would live without practising their religion. Catholics who have hitherto shunned the secret societies would be sorely tempted to join their ranks. The Holy See, which has constantly received from the Catholics of America proofs of almost unparalleled devotedness, would be considered not as a paternal authority, but as a harsh and unjust power. Surely these are

consequences which wisdom and prudence counsel us to avoid.

"7. But, besides the dangers that would result from such a condemnation, and the impracticability of putting it into effect, it is also very important that we should carefully consider another reason against condemnation, arising from the unstable and transient character of the organization in question. It is frequently remarked by the press and by attentive observers that this special form of association has in it so little permanence that, in its present shape, it is not likely to last many years. Whence it follows that it is not necessary, even if it were just and prudent, to level the sole condemnations of the Church against so evanescent an object. The social agitation itself will, indeed, last as long as there are social evils to be remedied; but the forms of organization meant for the attainment of this end are naturally provisional and short-lived. They are also very numerous, for I have already remarked that the Knights of Labor is only one among many labor organizations.

"To strike, then, at one of these forms, would be to commence a war without system and without end; it would be to exhaust the forces of the Church in chasing a crowd of changing and uncertain spectres. The American people behold with perfect composure and confidence the progress of our social contest, and have not the least fear of not being able to protect themselves against any excesses or dangers that may occasionally arise. Hence, to speak with the most profound respect, but also with the frankness which duty requires of me, it seems to me that prudence suggests, and that even the dignity of the Church demands, that we should not offer to America an ecclesiastical protection for which she does not ask, and of which she believes she has no need.

"8. In all this discussion, I have not at all spoken of Canada, nor of the condemnation concerning the Knights

of Labor in Canada; for we would consider it an impertinence on our part to meddle with the ecclesiastical affairs of another country which has a Hierarchy of its own, and with whose social conditions we do not pretend to be acquainted. We believe, however, that the circumstances of a people almost entirely Catholic, as in lower Canada, must be very different from those of a mixed population like ours; moreover, that the documents submitted to the Holy Office are not the present constitution of the organization in our country, and that we, therefore, ask nothing involving an inconsistency on the part of the Holy See, which passed sentence '*localiter et juxta exposita.*'

"It is of the United States that we speak, and we trust that we are not presumptuous in believing that we are competent to judge about the state of things in our own country. Now, as I have already indicated, out of the seventy-five Archbishops and Bishops of the United States, there are about five who desire the condemnation of the Knights of Labor, such as they are in our own country; so that our Hierarchy are almost unanimous in protesting against such a condemnation. Such a fact ought to have great weight in deciding the question. If there are difficulties in the case, it seems to me that the prudence and experience of our Bishops and the wise rules of the Third Plenary Council ought to suffice for their solution.

"Finally, to sum up all, it seems to me that the Holy See could not decide to condemn an association under the following circumstances:

"1. When the condemnation does not seem to be *justified* either by the letter or the spirit of its constitution, its laws and the declaration of its chiefs.

"2. When the condemnation does not seem *necessary*, in view of the transient form of the organization and the social condition of the United States.

"3. When it does not seem to be *prudent*, because of

the reality of the grievances complained of by the working classes, and their acknowledgment by the American people.

"4. When it would be *dangerous* for the reputation of the Church in our democratic country, and might even lead to persecution.

"5. When it would probably be *inefficacious*, owing to the general conviction that it would be unjust.

"6. When it would be *destructive* instead of beneficial in its effects, impelling the children of the Church to disobey their Mother, and even to enter condemned societies, which they have thus far shunned.

"7. When it would turn into suspicion and hostility the singular devotedness of our Catholic people towards the Holy See.

"8. When it would be regarded as a cruel blow to the authority of Bishops in the United States, who, it is well known, protest against such a condemnation.

"Now, I hope that the considerations here presented have sufficiently shown that such would be the effect of condemnation of the Knights of Labor in the United States.

"Therefore, I leave the decision of the case, with fullest confidence, to the wisdom and prudence of your Eminence and the Holy See.

"J. Card. Gibbons,
"*Archbishop of Baltimore.*

"Rome, February 20, 1887."

CHAPTER XX

VICTORY FOR THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

Pleas such as Cardinal Gibbons made in behalf of the Knights of Labor could not fail to exert a powerful influence. As the tide swayed, Bishop Keane wrote from Rome to Cardinal Manning:

"You will see how the utterances which have forever secured to your Eminence the noble title of 'friend of the people' have done our Cardinal good service in his defense of the rights of the working millions. He had an interview this morning on this subject with the chief officials of the Holy Office, with most gratifying results. It was easy to see that in his words they felt the weight of the whole Hierarchy, the whole clergy, and the whole people of America, and that his sentiments had already produced among them an evident change of front. A few weeks ago the drift was towards condemnation, regardless of the widespread, disastrous consequences that would inevitably have ensued. Today the keynote was that the convictions of the Bishops of America are the safest guide of the Holy Office in its action on American affairs, and that they will let well enough alone." [1]

In another letter to the Cardinal of Westminster, April 23, Keane told thus of some of the discouragements which he had been facing:

[1] Letter of February 28, 1887, quoted by Leslie.

"Mgr. Jacobini was in favor of its [the appeal's] publication in the *Moniteur*, which I feel sure Cardinal Simeoni would not have authorized. He is the embodiment of timid and suspicious conservatism. I explained to him how an advocacy of popular rights was no friendliness to Socialism, and that our aim was—recognizing the inevitable tendency to democracy—not to leave it to be ruled by the devil, but to hold it in the ways of God. He took it all with his gentle smile, which always seems to me half consent and half fear. He has a mortal dread of newspapers. We can expect from him only the toleration of our ideas. Cardinal Simeoni, and probably others with him, linked together the labor movement in America and the Home Rule movement in Ireland; and the dire colors in which poor Ireland is now being painted cast a glare of suspicion upon us, too. The times are certainly critical, but we know we are advancing truth and justice."[2]

Although Gibbons' letter to the Propaganda had not been intended for the public eye, a newspaper correspondent contrived to get possession of a copy and it was published in America and Europe. The Cardinal was surprised one day to receive cable messages of congratulation from home, and in a short time he learned that the argument which he had framed for the Curia alone was a theme of discussion throughout the civilized world.

The case was won after weary months of struggle. Not only did Rome decide not to forbid the organization of the Knights in the United States, but the ban was lifted in Canada. The opposition subsided, and there was a chorus of acclamation for the American Cardinal who,

[2] Leslie, p. 363.

only a short time before, had been regarded with doubt and suspicion as an upholder of the forces of social upheaval. The decision was hailed as emphasizing the Church's championship of the poor. Said the *Moniteur de Rome:*

"His Eminence's document has been widely commented upon by the newspapers throughout the United States. They have unanimously recognized in it not only a great benefit conferred upon the millions of workingmen who compose the great mass of people in America and in every other country, but also a victory for the Catholic Church, which in showing herself the friend of the people naturally secures their affections. . . . As a matter of course a few journals—organs of the monopolies—have uttered their protest; but their voice is scarcely being heard amid the general applause."

England echoed the commendation. Cardinal Manning wrote:

"I have read with great assent Cardinal Gibbons' document in relation to the Knights of Labor. The Holy See will, I am sure, be convinced by his exposition of the state of the new world. I hope it will open a new field of thought and action. . . . The Church is the mother, friend and protector of the people. As the Lord walked among them, so His Church lives among them." [3]

Bishop Keane, in a burst of gratitude, wrote to Manning:

"The clear, strong, wise words of your Eminence's letters will be a bulwark to the truth and a rebuke to mischief-makers. The impression produced here seems to be excellent. Nay, our victory is already won. Cardinal

[3] Taylor, *The Cardinal Democrat,* p. 180.

Taschereau has gone home with directions from the Holy Office to grant absolution to all the thousands of poor fellows who have been cut off from the Sacraments by the condemnation in Canada, and there does not seem to be any danger now of a condemnation in America. *Deo gratias!*" [4]

The acuteness of the labor question at the time was intense, and there was no doubt that a large body of conservatives throughout the world had felt a shock. *Puck*, the comic weekly, went so far as to depict the Cardinal as imparting a blessing with uplifted hands to a body of riotous working people pursuing a non-union man. The tumult was at length stilled, and the adjustment of labor and capital proceeded in America, for the most part, on natural and orderly lines.

No one rejoiced more than Leo XIII that Gibbons had again proved himself to be a true spokesman of the western democracy, in which the Pontiff beheld the greatest hope for the Church's development of her spiritual mission. Throughout the remainder of his Pontificate, he retained vividly the views of the labor question which Gibbons had helped to impress upon him, rejoicing at the opportunity to put the Church in touch with the times on this problem of vast and fundamental importance to the spread of religion among the working people of America and Europe.

His mature thought on the subject was embodied in the encyclical on "The Condition of Labor," [5] which he addressed to the Catholic world a few years later. In

[4] Letter of March 22, 1887, quoted by Leslie, pp. 362–363.
[5] *Encyclical Letter, Rerum Novarum,* May 15, 1891.

words whose power reinforced from the highest ecclesiastical source the vigorous utterances of Cardinal Gibbons, he conceded and set forth the wrongs under which labor was suffering. "Some remedy must be found quickly," he declared, "for the misery and wretchedness present so heavily and unjustly at this moment on the vast majority of the working classes." Since the decline of the ancient workingmen's guilds, it had come to pass that "workingmen had been surrendered, all isolated and helpless, to the hard-heartedness of employers, and to great unchecked competition," so that "a small number of very rich men had been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the laboring poor a yoke little better than slavery itself."

Leo warmly defended the dignity of labor, as Gibbons had done before him. He dwelt upon the Christian interdependence of both capital and labor, and argued that no perfect solution of this question would ever be found without the assistance of religion.

Dealing with the rise of Socialism, which was then beginning to carry local elections in Europe, and threatened to gain control of several governments by alliances with wings of other political parties, he declared that it was preying upon the poor man's envy of the rich, and was endeavoring to destroy private property. The workingmen, he held, would be among the first to suffer if the proposals of the Socialists were carried out, for they were clearly futile for all practical purposes. More than that, he found them emphatically unjust, because they would rob the lawful possessor, bring the State into a

sphere not properly its own, and cause complete confusion in the community.

The desire of the Church, Leo emphasized, was that the poor should rise above poverty and wretchedness. She was not so occupied with the spiritual concerns of her children as to neglect their material interests. Christian morality was the key to the situation; if practised by employer and employee, it would always find expression in the attitude of the State toward social questions. It was not enough to say that the State must maintain even-handed justice among individuals; special consideration was due to the poor, as the weaker members of every community. There was a moral obligation resting upon employers to pay fair wages, and the employment of children in factories and similar injustices must be resisted to the utmost.

The Pope gave his fullest assent to the primary view laid down by Cardinal Gibbons in his defense of the Knights of Labor. Both employers and employees, he held, had the right to combine, and it was not only to be tolerated but highly important that workingmen should multiply their associations. He declared that imperative necessity had brought about lawful combinations for the betterment of labor. As far as was practical, he desired these organizations to be founded on the principles of religion.

The Pope extended throughout the Christian world the policy which Gibbons was following in America, by instructing the Bishops to take into their purview the condition of labor in their dioceses, and, without interfering with the State, to aid the workingmen in every

lawful way to promote their own just interests without recourse to violence or revolutionary doctrines.[6]

Gibbons had a deep personal sympathy for the elevation of labor as a general policy in both Church and State. In a sermon he thus expressed the view on that subject which he continuously held:

"Never did the Redeemer of mankind confer a greater temporal blessing on humanity than by ennobling and sanctifying manual labor, and by rescuing it from the degradation which had been attached to it. Christ comes into the world not surrounded by the pomp and splendor of imperial majesty, but he appears as the son of an artisan. 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?' the people said of him. He has thrown a halo around the workshop, and has lightened the workman's tools by assuming the trade of an artisan.

"If the professions of a soldier, of a jurist, and of a prelate are dignified by the examples of a Washington, a Taney, and a Carroll, how much more is the calling of a mechanic ennobled by Christ? A conflict of labor and capital is as unreasonable as would be a contention between the head and the hands." [7]

It is difficult with the passage of years to conceive the risk which Gibbons and Manning took in basing their stand regarding labor upon a forecast of the future, which, accurate, even prophetic, as it was, involved the human hazard. They were immensely relieved when the rapid progress of events vindicated their judgment. Manning wrote to Gibbons March 31, 1890:

"We little thought when we were writing about the Knights of Labour in Rome, a few years ago, that every

[6] Archives of the Baltimore Cathedral.
[7] Sermon in the Baltimore Cathedral, April, 1902.

word would be so soon published to the world by an Emperor and a Pope. This is surely the new world overshadowing the old, and the Church walking like its master among the people of Christendom. Were we prophets?" [8]

Archbishop Ireland, valiant champion of labor to the end of the struggle, learned of this letter and wrote to Gibbons:

"The words are cheering and to you who staked your name on the outcome of the problem, then rather obscure, they must have been very gratifying. You were a prophet! The people are the power, and the Church must be with the people. I wish all our Bishops understood this truth!" [9]

The battle in behalf of the Knights left no scars upon Gibbons but many memories. Years afterward he said:

"Ah, what a struggle it was on both sides of the water! I had so many difficulties that I wonder I got through with them. Bishops are so hard to persuade! They have fixed and positive opinions and I can scarcely imagine a class of men less easy to deal with on a subject of that kind.

"And here I am, at the end of all those struggles, in the midst of a profound calm! But the storm lasted a long time. I was called an advanced progressive and I had to stand my ground. Puck used to caricature me. I remember well one cartoon in which Cardinal Manning and I were represented as seated on opposite sides of the Holy Father (Leo XIII). The Pope's expression, as drawn, was that of a fox. He was looking suspiciously at us and saying, as I remember it: 'I must watch these two artful dodgers!' "

[8] Leslie, pp. 365–366.
[9] Leslie, p. 366.

CHAPTER XXI

HENRY GEORGE AND DR. McGLYNN

While yet the struggle for the vindication of the rights of organized labor rocked the forces of opinion in Rome, Gibbons had turned to accept combat on another issue which he felt involved a correlative right—that of free discussion of economic evils. He threw himself into this new effort with redoubled zeal when the cause of the Knights had been won and the Church had become firmly intrenched in the high ground that had been gained; for in his eyes there rose a danger that part of the fruits of the victory would be snatched away.

The challenge which Gibbons thus saw was in the proposed condemnation of Henry George's book, *Progress and Poverty*, which in certain circles of labor had been hailed as the creed of a new order that would lift burdens centuries old. This exposition of the theory of the single tax on land values was launched in a time of economic experiment when panaceas were eagerly sought, and it projected its author into a sudden glare of popularity. He became the hope of the unemployed, the underpaid and the striker. Among the hundreds of thousands of workers in New York City his vogue was at the maximum, and in 1886 he was nominated as the labor candidate for mayor, receiving 68,000 votes.

George drew no small share of support outside the

ranks of labor from men whose altruism he stirred powerfully and two of the most prominent priests of New York became his avowed and eager champions. These were the Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, pastor of St. Stephen's Church, the "largest Catholic parish in this diocese," as the diocesan head, Archbishop Corrigan, wrote in 1886; and the Rev. Dr. Richard L. Burtsell, pastor of the Church of the Epiphany. The talented and ardent McGlynn became one of the founders and the president of the Anti-Poverty Society, formed for the purpose of championing George's views in a skeptical world. His militancy in the cause gave rise to the belief in some minds that the Catholic Church indorsed the new economic program.

In the ferment of conflicting ideas, an appeal was made to Archbishop Corrigan to declare his position. His response was an unhesitating condemnation of George's book and a rebuke to McGlynn and Burtsell. Supporters of George, in their consternation, retorted by raising doubts as to whether Corrigan spoke for Rome. The Archbishop, spurred to adopt a course even more vigorous, carried his case promptly to the Congregation of the Index, demanding that *Progress and Poverty* be put upon the forbidden list.

When Gibbons learned of this step he took the ground, with firmness equal to that of his colleague of New York, that condemnation of the book would be a grave mistake and an injury to the prestige of the Church as the friend of the struggling poor. Strained relations with Corrigan developed, and Gibbons deplored them; but personal con-

siderations could not move him from his stand on the question of the principle involved.

Gibbons and Corrigan were of different types and stood as the champions of diverse tendencies of opinion in the Church in America. The Baltimore Cardinal was the acknowledged leader of the prelates of liberal view who were in an overwhelming majority, while Corrigan spoke for those who were called conservatives. Corrigan played his rôle unwillingly. His personal tastes were for scholarship and retirement from the world, and he would have been glad to escape his weighty task as the head of the metropolitan diocese. Soon after his elevation, he wrote: "How immense is the responsibility and how heavy is the burden!" His piety and humility seemed like a survival from Apostolic times. Combined with his high degree of intellectual ability and natural force of character were a deep sensitiveness which ill-fitted him for the storms that swept his diocese during the period of his ecclesiastical rule, and he showed a rare gentleness in the ordinary relations of life.

Standing out among these elements in his personality was an almost leonine courage which impelled him to resist to the last extremity anything that he considered to be an encroachment upon the domain of true teaching. To his mind George's book was a denial of the rights of property asserted by the Church; to Gibbons' mind—and the Cardinal was subsequently sustained by the highest ecclesiastical authority—it was not. Men holding such pronounced convictions upon a subject of that kind were bound to clash, and it was not in either of them to give

ground until the final word had been spoken with authority.

Corrigan felt that as the head of the diocese in which George lived, and in which *Progress and Poverty* had attracted the greatest number of followers, his own view of the book should be regarded as of especial weight, both by his brethren of the American Hierarchy and by the authorities in Rome. Gibbons insisted that the considerations involved were far too broad and general to be decided either by an individual prelate or from the viewpoint of one diocese. In the spring of 1887, while in Rome, he made a formal appeal against condemnation in a letter to Cardinal Simeoni. He wrote:

"I have already had the honor of presenting my views on social questions which agitate America, and especially in relation to the Knights of Labor. But lately another form of social discussion has developed attaching to the doctrines of Henry George, an American author identified with the working classes. Since my arrival in Rome I have heard discussed the question whether those works should find a place in the Index. After meditation upon the subject, I think it my duty to submit to your Eminence the reasons which demonstrated to me why a formal condemnation of Henry George's works would be inopportune and useless."

Gibbons then began the argument by setting forth that George was not the originator of his theory concerning the ownership and control of land. In *Progress and Poverty*, he maintained, George cited the precise teachings of Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill. He quoted from an article in the *Contemporary Review* of November, 1886, the statement that George was only

following those celebrated authors. The Cardinal proceeded:

"It seems to me that the world would adjudge it a little singular if the Holy See should attack the work of an humble American workingman instead of his master. . . . If any one thinks it is the duty of the Holy See to pronounce judgment upon Messrs. Spencer and Mill, it might be prudent, before such adjudication, to take the opinions of Cardinals Manning and Newman as to the policy of such action."

He differentiated between a work by Steccannella, published by the Propaganda Press in 1882, and George's writings, continuing:

"Any one who reads the latter observes that the author does not teach nor wish to teach the abolition of all private property and placing it under State care. Mr. George, on the contrary, maintains that individual property is absolute over all the fruits of a man's energy and industry. It is only as to the possession of land that he wishes to limit individual property by an extension of the *supremum dominium* of government. One can perceive, therefore, that practically the controversy presents itself to the American public as a simple question touching the power of government over the individual ownership of land.

"Regarding this power, I wish to note here that whoever has studied the relation of the State to the ownership of land, as the subject is treated by Steccannella and other Catholic writers, or as it is regulated by laws on taxation and the support of the poor in many countries —and especially in England—cannot fail to comprehend that this is a very complicated question, governed by differing circumstances of time and place and never fit to be resolved by a peremptory sentence.

"The whole question is before the American public as a political problem and in an arena so practical it will soon find solution. Mr. George himself recognizes that only legislative power can accomplish his disposition of these affairs. It seems certain, however, that never will a Congress or a legislature be found which will vote so profound a change in social relations, nor a President who will approve it in a country like the United States, which is not one for doctrinaires and visionaries. No speculative theory can become dangerous or survive long after any practical application of it has been rejected. If let alone, it will in all certainty die of itself.

"Some events having an intimate connection with this very question have created a very profound impression in the United States. It appears evident, then, that even if it were advisable to condemn the doctrines, the present time could not properly be chosen for that purpose. I feel certain, moreover, that a condemnation of the works of Mr. George might give them a popular importance and arouse a curiosity that would sell them by thousands of copies and immensely spread the influences which the condemnation would seek to restrain.

"The American people, I repeat, are so practical that among them all bizarre ideas and visionary suggestions so soon find a tomb that it appears to me that prudence should suggest that we let the absurdities die a natural death and that we should not incur the risk of giving to these a vital importance and an artificial force by the intervention of the Church tribunals.

"J. Card. Gibbons,
"Archbishop of Baltimore."

Cardinal Manning was a member of the Congregation of the Index, and Gibbons wrote to him protesting urgently against condemnation of George's book. George had made a trip to England, in which country his eco-

nomic theories had also attained some vogue, and while there he attempted to enlist Manning's support. In a personal interview, he explained his views at length. Manning understood George not to deny the right of property, but to be aiming rather at a mitigation of evils resulting from an exaggerated application of that right. The English Cardinal was pleased by the "quiet earnestness" with which George spoke, and the "calmness of his whole bearing"; but he did not accept, either in that conversation or subsequently, George's program as a general remedy for social evils.[1]

Gibbons did not believe, any more than Manning, that George's plan was a practical remedy, and he dissented from a number of the principles laid down in *Progress and Poverty*, although he did not deny that the book contained some economic truths, and that it represented honest aspiration for the betterment of the working classes. Taking the same general ground as in the controversy regarding the Knights of Labor, he held that condemnation of the book by the Church would be an unwise step, as interfering where interference was unnecessary. Working actively in Rome against condemnation, he was able at length to satisfy himself that the action proposed by Archbishop Corrigan had been prevented for the time being.

Corrigan, still undismayed, continued his pressure for condemnation, and by the end of another year appeared to have made such substantial progress that Gibbons took up the fight again. Gibbons decided that the time had come to marshal the sentiment of the American Hierarchy

[1] Leslie, pp. 353–354.

to the utmost extent in his power against the threatened act, in order to convince Rome that the question affected the general attitude of the Church in regard to the labor movement in the United States and that it ought to be settled finally. His journal shows these entries written in the spring of 1888:

"March 20. Wrote to Dr. O'Connell deprecating the threatened condemnation of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* by the Congregation of the Index. I also requested the Archbishop of Boston, and a few other prelates, to write to Rome in the same interest. . . .

"April 14. Wrote to Archbishop Feehan and Bishop Gilmour in reference to the threatened condemnation of George's *Progress and Poverty;* and also on the 16th to Bishop O'Connor, and on the 21st to Archbishop Heiss and Bishop Kain. They have written to Rome; also Archbishop Riordan.

"May 3. I wrote to the Holy Father enclosing the letter to Dr. O'Connell, deprecating the threatened condemnation of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty.*"

In a letter to his close friend, Archbishop Gross, of Oregon, he wrote:

"Last year while in Rome, having learned that the Congregation of the Index contemplated putting Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* on the Index, I wrote a letter to Cardinal Simeoni deprecating such a condemnation as calculated to do much more harm than good. . . . It would be made use of as a weapon against us by the enemies of the Church, who would charge her with being afraid of free discussion, the friend of the rich, the enemy of the poor, etc. Surely we have ample difficulties forced upon us without courting or inviting new ones.

"Thousands of books against faith and morals are

annually published in the country. To single out George for condemnation would look like vindictiveness. And while land robbers are stealing thousands of acres with impunity, to see a harmless theorist condemned by the Church for views which could never enter into the domain of actual life would not fail to excite unfavorable comment, especially among the poor and simple masses." [2]

While the controversy was at this stage, Gibbons' differences from Archbishop Corrigan were emphasized by the publication without the Cardinal's knowledge of the letter opposing condemnation which he had sent to the Propaganda a year before; but the disclosure also had the effect of enlisting the approval of a large body of American public opinion, as shown by the following letter from Gibbons to Mgr. O'Connell:

"BALTIMORE, March 19, 1888.

"DEAR DR. O'CONNELL:

"The surreptitious publication of the letter which I had the honor to address to the Propaganda in reference to the condemnation of Henry George's '*Progress and Poverty*' has produced one good result. It has enlisted the warm approval of the American press, which has commented upon it, and has conclusively shown that the condemnation of the book would not only have done no good, but would have been the occasion of much injury to the head of the Church in this country. Time has confirmed the impressions I formed in Rome on this subject, and fulfilled the predictions I ventured to make. . . . If the American episcopate were consulted on this matter, with very few exceptions, they would write deploring the condemnation.

"Yours in Christ,

"JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS."

[2] Letter to Archbishop Gross, April 16, 1888.

Gibbons again turned to Manning's assistance as essential in thwarting the new effort to obtain condemnation. He wrote to the English Cardinal on March 23, 1888:

"*Private and Confidential.*[3] While I was in Rome in the spring of '87, I felt it my duty to urge the Congregation of the Index not to condemn Henry George's '*Progress and Poverty.*' I addressed the letter to Cardinal Simeoni, and my impression is that I sent your Eminence a copy of the letter at the time. I have been informed confidentially, within the last few days, that, yielding to pressure from a certain quarter in this country, the Congregation was inclined to put the book on the Index notwithstanding my earnest deprecating letter of last year, whose force is perhaps weakened for want of insistence.

"The reasons I presented then for withholding a condemnation are stronger today, and my anticipations have been verified regarding the effect of Mr. George's book on the public mind. I would deplore an official condemnation of the book for the following reasons, among others: (1) The book is now almost forgotten, and to put it on the Index would revive it in the popular mind, would arouse a morbid interest in the work, and would tend to increase its circulation. (2) The author himself has ceased to be a prominent leader in politics, he excites little or no attention, and whatever influence he has politically he promises to exert in favor of the reelection of President Cleveland. (3) The condemnation of this book would awaken sympathy for him. He would be regarded as a martyr to Catholic intolerance by many Protestants. (4) It would afford to the bigots, (always anxious to find a weak spot in our armor) an occasion to

[3] The injunction of secrecy regarding Cardinal Gibbons' letter to Cardinal Manning, considered necessary at the time, was removed by the subsequent progress of events.

denounce the Church as an enemy of free discussion. (5) The errors in the book have been amply refuted by able theologians.

"I write to beg your Eminence to help us in preventing a condemnation, especially as you belong to the Congregation of the Index. It is important not to reveal any knowledge of the threatened condemnation. The letter might be based on the recent surreptitious publication of my letter in the New York *Herald*, and the favourable comments on it, as far as I have seen, on the part of the secular press. My belief is that with very few, not a half dozen, exceptions, the episcopate of this country would deplore a condemnation. Your Eminence's knightly help to me last year prompts me to call on you again." [4]

Manning lost no time in giving the desired assurance that he would continue to stand firmly against condemnation and that Gibbons need have no fears on that subject. Gibbons' second rally of his forces carried the day triumphantly and all thought of imposing the ban was dropped at Rome.

Corrigan's feeling that his own judgment regarding George's book had not received the proportionate importance that was due him as the head of the archdiocese of New York was deepened by the developments in the case of Dr. McGlynn. While he and Gibbons had differed squarely on the question of condemnation of the book, each clearly understood the other's position on that question; but in the public commotion over McGlynn a mass of misunderstanding arose and Corrigan, through

[4] Leslie, pp. 64–65.

no fault of his own, formed a total misconception of Gibbons' attitude. This condition dragged along for several years before the facts became plain to the Archbishop of New York. By that time his whole life had been saddened by the storms of his career at the head of the diocese during a turbulent period, and he implored Rome to permit him to put down the burden which he felt was too heavy for him to bear.

In Henry George's mayoralty campaign in New York, McGlynn was his most influential supporter. Corrigan forbade McGlynn to attend a public meeting in behalf of George, but he refused to heed the command and was suspended from his pastorate for ten days. As he continued to be refractory he was removed from the pastorate and ordered to proceed to Rome to make his submission, but he pleaded ill-health and raised other complications, finally incurring the sentence of excommunication. Dr. Burtsell, the backer and counselor of McGlynn, also refused to budge from his position, and was deprived of his pastorate.

From the bottom of his heart Gibbons deplored the conduct of these two men. In his view they were indiscreet and obstreperous, and their resistance to their ecclesiastical superior tended to cloud the main question at issue before it could be decided by the highest Church authority. He set forth his stand in the following letter to Archbishop Elder:

"Florence, April 20, 1887.

"My dear Archbishop:

"Yesterday, on arriving here, I received a copy of the cablegram you sent to Dr. O'Connell. I wrote to Dr.

O'Connell requesting him to say to Mgr. Jacobini that as far as I was advised it might be well to make another effort to get McGlynn to Rome, and that Archbishop Williams, who will soon arrive, might be asked to use his good offices in this matter. Should McGlynn fail to obey this summons, it would be for the Holy See to determine whether and to what extent he should be punished for contumacy, and even whether he may not be already regarded as contumacious.

"Soon after arriving in Rome on February 16, at the direction of the Holy Father, and Cardinal Simeoni also requesting, I wrote a letter to Dr. Burtsell strongly advising Dr. McGlynn to come to Rome. I had hoped that he would obey and thus save himself from the terrible consequences involved in his disobedience and the Archbishop from constant annoyance and irritation. After a long time, an answer came excusing him on the ground of ill-health, coupled with the desire to have his faculties restored before departing.

"To my regret and even amazement, I saw from the papers that Dr. McGlynn's friends began to regard me as a defender of him, and, as I believed that my letter could be the only ground for this impression, I desisted from writing again. I never wrote a second letter to New York, and paid no attention to one or two communications from his friends.

"I may add that I hardly know Dr. McGlynn by sight, and never corresponded with him.

"As no suggestions came to me from the Archbishop or any of our prelates, I was at a loss to know what to do and hesitated to take any step on my own responsibility. These public utterances of Dr. McGlynn will do no good either to himself or to religion. I hope, with God's grace, that the storm will soon spend itself. . . .

"Believe me, your devoted friend in Christ,

"J. Cardinal Gibbons."

"April 21.

"I desire to add a word or two to what I said yesterday. Should the Holy See deem it advisable to give a summons to Dr. McGlynn to appear in Rome, I think the summons should be accompanied by a command to him to deliver no more utterances. These speeches of his are calculated to inflame his audiences, who, I am sorry to see, sometimes use language disrespectful to the Archbishop. Could not some one be found in America who would advise him to desist from making public speeches? . . . You might communicate these views to his Grace of New York."

Dr. Burtsell seems to have come to the belief that by continuous appeals he would be able to win some sort of support from Gibbons. While the Cardinal was in New York in May, 1890, Burtsell called on him and implored his intercession. The Cardinal told him firmly that "under no circumstances will I interfere in the controversy."

Burtsell was not easily rebuffed. Several days later, after Gibbons had returned to Baltimore, he received from Burtsell a bundle of documents with a note enclosed, saying that Burtsell had written to Cardinal Simeoni soliciting him to ask Cardinal Gibbons' views on the pending question before deciding it. Without even unfolding the documents, Cardinal Gibbons returned them to the priest with this letter:

"June 10, 1890.

"My dear Dr. Burtsell:

"I hope you will appreciate my motives when I beg to say, as I said to you in New York when you called on me, that I feel it my duty not to interfere in any

way with your case. I send you back at once the documents which you forwarded to me, and which have just arrived.

"Faithfully yours in Christ,
"JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS."

Archbishop Corrigan learned of Burtsell's letter to Rome in which Gibbons' name had been used without learning also of the Cardinal's refusal to interfere. He accepted the belief that Gibbons was, to some extent, at least, an upholder of McGlynn. Gibbons, pained by the turn which affairs were taking, wrote him a letter of explanation, saying: "This partial information was indeed well calculated to make you feel aggrieved." [5]

A short time afterward he addressed the Archbishop again in a personal vein, endeavoring to remove the thought of friction. He wrote:

"BALTIMORE, November 14, 1890.

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP:

". . . It is a sore affliction to me that an unwarranted use of my name continues to be made in connection with the trials through which you have passed and which I hope are at an end. Only a few days ago, I received the enclosed prospectus of a book from the publishers. The same day I called on a prominent law firm directing them to order the publishers to withdraw my name from the book. . . . Of course the book is a catchpenny.

"I will try, if possible, to avoid a legal prosecution, which might advertise the book.

"Faithfully yours in Christ,
"J. CARDINAL GIBBONS."

[5] Letter to Archbishop Corrigan, October 30, 1890.

But with regard to the question of condemning *Progress and Poverty*, he wrote to Corrigan frankly declaring his own right to take any position that seemed to him to be in the interest of religion, saying:

"I regard the subject as neither local nor personal, but one affecting the general interests of the Church in this country. While having no sympathy for George or his doctrines, I deprecate a public condemnation as calculated, in my judgment, to do harm to religion. . . .

"I sincerely regret that my action in this matter did not accord with your judgment, but I assure you that it was prompted solely by a conscientious sense of duty. . . ."

Corrigan's sensitive nature received a further shock when Archbishop Satolli, soon after his arrival in the United States as Apostolic Delegate, held a hearing on the McGlynn case. Satolli in 1892 relieved the priest of the sentence of excommunication, and McGlynn obeyed the summons to Rome. Two years later he was appointed pastor of St. Mary's Church, Newburgh, New York, and remained there until his death in 1901. The faculties of Burtsell were also restored, and he was appointed to a pastorate in Rondout, New York. He was honored with the title of monsignor less than a month before he died in 1912.

Satolli's intervention caused a personal breach between himself and Corrigan which greatly distressed Leo XIII when he heard of it. He entrusted to Gibbons a most delicate task in view of Gibbons' previous relations with Corrigan in the same controversy—that of effecting a reconciliation between the Apostolic Delegate and the

Archbishop of New York. The almost unequaled tact of Gibbons proved to be sufficient, and his journal records that he was able to write to the Pope that the desired reconciliation had been effected.

The differences between Gibbons and Corrigan were differences of method. Corrigan felt that the rising labor movement must be closely watched and carefully guided by the Church; so did Gibbons. But Corrigan was disposed to resort to interdicts as corrective measures, while Gibbons' program was to exercise a broad toleration during the period of struggle and debate which was inseparable from the evolutionary process that was going on. Gibbons believed that many temporary wanderings in the wilderness by labor theorists would prove harmless in the end, and that enlightened public opinion was the best corrective for them. He wished the Church to interpose with rebuke only if urgent necessity should make that duty plain.

Even outside the labor movement he did not cease to urge that the Church should be slow to condemn organizations in the United States. He wrote to Archbishop Elder:

"Baltimore, March 28, 1889.

"Most Rev. Dear Archbishop:

"In reply to your question, should the Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias be tolerated by the Church in this country, I beg to make the following observations:

"I think we should be very slow in condemning societies, especially in our age and country where the tendency is so strong toward organization, and the intentions of the members are harmless and even praiseworthy. Experience, I believe, has shown that little good and often evil

consequences result from the censures of the Church. We lose a hold on the masses; they regard us as unsympathetic and hostile, and they shrink from us. The societies have again and again been condemned in Italy, and yet that country is honeycombed with secret societies.

"It is better for us to win their confidence and then we can succeed in eliminating what is bad or suspicious from their constitutions.

"As a practical conclusion, I am in favor of tolerating *ad interim* the Odd Fellows and the Knights of Pythias, with the proviso that the members express themselves ready to abide by any future action of the Church. Meanwhile a commission of prelates might be appointed to examine the question of the constitution of these societies. . . .

"Faithfully yours in Christ,
"JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS."

His journal contains this entry indicating the same attitude at a later period:

"May 18, 1905. I sent to the Cardinal Prefect the unanimous opinion of the Archbishops deprecating the condemnation of three societies, respectively called 'The Knights of the Maccabees,' 'The Modern Woodmen' and 'The Improved Order of Red Men.' "

CHAPTER XXII

A TRIUMPHAL RETURN HOME

Cardinal Gibbons' winter campaign in 1887 in Rome ended in brilliant success and a breakdown of his health. He had laid the foundations of his main plans so firmly that they would not be shaken. In the outcome he felt no sense of elation; neither had he been greatly depressed or disconcerted by the many setbacks which he had received in the long and almost fierce struggle. Early in life he had developed the practise of accepting success and failure with a degree of equanimity impossible to most men. Sustained by a comprehensive faith in an overruling Providence, he was content not to test any immediate result by a limited standard of judgment; he believed that in the larger and longer view everything would turn out to be for the best. Neither did he accept partial effects as finalities.

This may be called his personal philosophy. In a sermon at the Baltimore Cathedral, he said:

"I do not know of any truth of revelation more tranquillizing and more consoling to the human heart than the doctrine of God's special providence over us. If I may disclose my own inward thought, I will avow that it has ever been to me the most reassuring of all Christian teachings, and one that has been a sustaining force to me amid the vicissitudes of a long life. How comforting

is the reflection that you are not a waif, aimlessly drifting down the stream of life, but that your little bark is unceasingly under the guidance of the Divine pilot; that amid the storms and tempests which are around you there is a voice nearby that commands the winds and the waves; that, though the assassin's dagger is raised to strike, there is close to you an invisible hand that arrests the dagger. How cheering is the consideration that no matter how dark and lowering the clouds of sorrow that envelop you, the eternal Sun of Justice in his own good time, and in a moment most suitable to your needs, will dispel those clouds!"

Gibbons was never disposed to pause in a moment when much seemed gained, and be satisfied with what had been accomplished. Sustained by courage and hope, he was always conceiving new undertakings.

Such a man, in the long train of events, is an irresistible champion of a cause, judged by human standards; in the reverse view, he is an irresistible antagonist. Gibbons, while audacious when the moment for audacity came, possessed the rare gift of being able to wait. His aims and judgments were based on long processes of years. His wish was to do nothing that would not stand the test of time.

But his physique, which had so often verged on frailty, gave way in the Spring of 1887. The care of his health which he had been accustomed to take had been discarded in part in Rome when events seemed to close up his pathway. A man of the most robust frame could scarcely have gone through what he endured without collapsing.

Fortunately, if his body seemed weak, his mind was a stranger to fatigue; and his nerves were cool and steady

as steel. In a combat in the council chamber to convince men whose temperaments and currents of thought were the antitheses of his own, his mind rebounded as if under the effect of a powerful stimulus and his poise was perfect. The only fatigue which he felt was the effect of prolonged standing, or of direct physical exertion in some other form, or of lack of nutrition from the old stomach trouble from which he was never free.

Now the time came when the body would not respond to the driving force of his mind. He must rest and relax. But he was fortunately able to do this at all times without any interruption in the rapid functioning of his brain, which he seemed powerless and even markedly disinclined to slow up. He wrote to Archbishop Elder when the struggle in the Eternal City was ended:

"My health is impaired by my confinement and constant employment, and the nervous tension in Rome. I felt the responsibility of my position and worked hard." [1]

A leisurely and reposeful trip homeward was his solution of his own problem of physical recuperation. Proceeding by easy stages to Paris, he was the guest there of the Sulpicians, who had founded in Baltimore the first seminary for the training of American priests and thus laid the foundation for a thoroughly American priesthood. In the calm and secluded life of the fathers of that order, his exceptional recuperative power asserted itself. Another stop was made at the University of Louvain, where many of his brethren in the American Hierarchy had pursued their studies owing to the lack

[1] Letter to Archbishop Elder, April 20, 1887.

of a university in their own country, which was now to be established for them by a decree of the Third Plenary Council.

In May he was the guest in London of Cardinal Manning, whose general views of the larger external aims to be pursued by the Church were more in accord with his own than those of any other member of her inner Council except Leo himself. Chatting in Manning's study, the workshop of a marvelous mind, he found the floor piled high with books and strewn with papers in seeming disorder. While these two eminent champions of human rights could always agree, yet in their personal traits they were opposites in many respects, and it is doubtful if they could ever have been intimate companions. The English Cardinal often spoke, even in ordinary conversation, with a precision of logic that was almost resistless, and his conclusions, as Gibbons afterward remarked, seemed to strike with the force of a battle-ax. For this compressed and formal habit of thought, the easy graces and ready versatility of Gibbons, together with that appealing personal touch which he imparted to all of his relations with others, were an admirable foil.

Manning, who had already congratulated him in writing on the victory on the Knights of Labor question, echoed the sympathy expressed in the letter. They found common ground in the belief that the time had come when the dynasty of the masses and not of the classes was ruling and ought to rule; that public opinion was the dominating force of the enlightened world, and that in the atmosphere of political and industrial freedom the

great results of the future were to be worked out. They talked of the dignity and rights of labor; agreed that social betterment must come from the bottom, rather than from the top; and that the Church must be in touch with the spirit of the age and always choose the rôle of the friend of the helpless, the champion of the poor. The struggles through which these two men passed drew them together by a mighty bond, and each was an inspiration to the other.

Manning entertained Gibbons at dinner with a company which included Canon Benoit, rector of the Mill Hill College, near London, where the Josephite Fathers trained students for missionary work among the negroes. Their methods appealed greatly to the American Cardinal, who, becoming absorbed in the possibilities of extending those methods to his own country, spent part of two days at Mill Hill. He observed the work of the college carefully, and made an address to the students, expressing great gratification at what was being done there.

Gibbons, as a result of his years of work in the Southern states, had better opportunities for understanding the colored race in America than the Josephite Fathers; but his main idea of what ought to be done for that race was the same. While always regretting that the slavery question, or any other question, should be worked out by an appeal to arms, he felt and frequently expressed a deep and benevolent sympathy for the negro in the position of contiguity with the whites. Like almost all Americans, he was glad to see slavery abolished permanently; but he had been alarmed by the thrusting of the

ballot into the hands of millions of negroes untrained to comprehend its meaning. He was far from being ready to adopt political panaceas for the ills that afflicted them, and it seemed to him that the best practical step was to diffuse among them the gentle and uplifting influence of Christianity, training the character as a groundwork, and building upon this as much of the superstructure of education as it might be found possible to add with benefit. The whole problem appeared to him, in its aspects at that time, to be social rather than political. The first duty at hand, he believed, was the training of the negro to habits of industry and thrift, to understand the relations of family and of duty as a member of the community, however humble.

At no time had he shared the expectations of those who had believed the negro capable of developing in a few years what the white race had obtained by centuries of sacrifice, toil and evolution; but, since the negroes were here, and since as far as men of his generation could foresee, they would remain in the United States indefinitely, they must be considered as a people to whom the ministrations of religion were even more necessary than to the whites. He did not know how far it would be wise to extend the plan of training negro priests to work among their own kind; but he felt that the especial character of the negroes' needs required a priesthood particularly prepared for supplying them.

The fathers of Mill Hill welcomed with joy the support of their often discouraging work by so powerful a prelate as the only American Cardinal. He completed plans with them for its extension to America, and soon

after his return these bore fruit in the opening of Epiphany Apostolic College in Baltimore. That institution of the Josephites, founded as an offshoot of Mill Hill, has since been the nucleus of an important influence.

Gibbons, now thoroughly restored to as much physical vigor as he had possessed before his conflicts in Rome, returned to America early in June. A committee from Baltimore which wished to extend felicitations to him without the loss of a moment gave him a warm welcome at the steamship pier. He tarried a few days in New York, where he celebrated Pontifical Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral, and was greeted by a host of visitors; and then proceeded on June 7 to Baltimore, where committees were in a fever of final preparation for a public reception to the prelate whom they now considered, without distinction of creed, as their foremost civic ornament.

When his train arrived at the station in Baltimore, the streets were thronged as if to acclaim a popular hero, and such in truth he was. The mayor of the city, James Hodges, headed a delegation which extended the municipal welcome. In an address to the new Cardinal, he said:

"Your gradual rise from the ranks of the people to scholarship, usefulness and popularity, and then to eminence, and now to preeminence, although achieved within the ecclesiastical division of life, is so thoroughly an American experience that every self-made man and others who admire meritorious advancement must regard your promotion as well earned and well deserved. Those of your fellow townsmen whose religious faith is in har-

mony with your own, and who are justly proud of the successful administration of this ancient See for nearly one hundred years, are doubtless gratified to know that you are so worthy a successor of the eight illustrious Primates, from Carroll to Bayley, who preceded you as Archbishops of Baltimore. They are also gratified to know that you are qualified by learning, good works and religious zeal to be a member of the Sacred College of Rome.

"Few American citizens during their visits to Europe have been welcomed with more sincere cordiality, or made more agreeable impressions on the people they met than you have; and as this effect was produced by the exercise of a rare congenial intelligence, Christian piety, moral worth and gentleness of manner and speech, it is reasonable to surmise that it will be lasting."

An address in behalf of a delegation of the Catholic laity was made by Charles J. Bonaparte, a grand nephew of Napoleon I and a resident of Baltimore.

As the Cardinal gazed out upon the throng of his neighbors assembled to hear a response from him to the welcome which they had joined in extending with so much fervency, the depth and strength of his personal ties, always marked, were evident in the spirit of the gathering. Scores of men were present with whom he had been accustomed to exchange friendly hand clasps in the multitude of relations of life at home in which he customarily engaged. There was more on the part of his neighbors than a desire to extend a public compliment to one of their fellow citizens who had risen to high place; the predominant feeling was one of real affection, perhaps in

a greater sense personal affection than in the case of any other American who filled a rôle such as his.

In his response he struck the neighborly note at the outset, expressing his gratitude for "this splendid ovation and this great outpouring of the clergy and people of Baltimore, who have come to bid me welcome on my return to the city which I love so well." On several previous occasions upon returning from Rome, he reminded his hearers, he had declined to be the subject of public demonstrations; but he added:

"There are times and circumstances—and the present one is one of them—when the individual is sunk in his representative capacity and personal preference should yield to the wishes of others. I thank you most cordially, Mr. Bonaparte, for the beautiful and chaste address you have delivered in the name of the Catholics of Baltimore, and I have to thank you also, honorable Mayor, for your excellent remarks, which I appreciate more as you stand before me as the highest representative of the city, and speak for the entire community, without reference to religion or nationality. I beg to assure you both, and the citizens of Baltimore, that the beautiful sentiments of kindness and fraternity you have so well expressed are most heartily reciprocated on my part. . . . Your kindness will bind me still more closely, if that is possible, to my fellow citizens and this city where I was born, where Providence has cast my lot, and where I hope to die."

Now came a long procession of the kind characteristic of America, where public parades are more common than anywhere else in the world. It took the form of a popular escort to the Cardinal, who proceeded to the archiepis-

copal residence surrounded by a guard of honor composed of members of Catholic societies. As he passed through the streets, bowing and smiling, the overflowing crowds raised their hats in respectful salute.

Arriving home, the parade was dismissed and the Cardinal entered the Cathedral, where the clergy had prepared a greeting to testify their especial love for him who was indeed their pastor in a personal as well as an ecclesiastical sense. After prayer, Monsignor McColgan made an address in behalf of the priests of the diocese, which showed that they were inspired by their superior's view of their proper service to their country as well as to the cause of religion. The speaker said:

"You have exposed to the view of the European nations the blessings which civil and religious liberty bestow on the citizens of America, where the rights of all are guaranteed, and where political and social honors are open to all, where freedom reigns for all without license, and authority is recognized and maintained without despotism. Your patriotic love for your native country has obtained for you a national character. Your memory, like that of the illustrious Carroll, first Archbishop of Baltimore, will be treasured and enshrined in the hearts of your people."

The Cardinal reciprocated the warmth of these expressions by replying in an address in which he said:

"While fully appreciating the courtesies which have been paid me in foreign lands, I value, immeasurably more than all, the words of greeting which have fallen from your lips. For what would a father care for all the honors that might be lavished upon him abroad, were

he not revered and loved by his own children and in his own household?"

On the Sunday following, at the services in the Cathedral, the Cardinal spoke in detail of his European trip.[2] Fresh from contact with Leo XIII, he naturally thought first of that Pontiff who had inspired and upheld him in the supreme trials through which he had passed. He felt that he must tell of Leo's especial interest in the western democracy, once expressed in the words "America—that is the future." The Cardinal said:

"Though he [the Pope] is deprived of his temporal possessions, it can be safely said that today he exercises more power over the civilized world than any king or potentate; and, although he has no military force to back him, his words are more conducive to peace than the actions of all the standing armies of Europe. In his case it can be truly said that his voice is mightier than the sword.

"He enjoys the love of two hundred and fifty millions of Catholics, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the world; and he has the respect and esteem of our separated brethren, who have not failed to recognize his many personal virtues, his benevolent character, and his broad, statesmanlike views. He has a special regard for this republic of ours and the citizens of the United States, which was amply demonstrated during my sojourn in Rome. At the time there was a large number of Americans in the city, all of whom very naturally wished to see the Holy Father. I mentioned the fact to him at the first opportunity, and in reply he said he would, indeed, be much pleased to see them. When the visitors were afterward presented, they were charmed by his presence and

[2] *Catholic Mirror*, June 18, 1887.

went away favorably impressed with all that he had said and strengthened with God's benediction upon them.

"Another illustration of his love for Americans was shown on Easter Tuesday, when all the Cardinals then in Rome paid their respects to his Holiness. He took that occasion to speak again of his great love for this country."

Seeing not the slightest conflict between allegiance to Church and allegiance to country, the Cardinal alluded to a sight which he had recently witnessed in the parade held in his honor—the flags of the United States and of the Papacy carried by marching Americans: "I always wish to see those two flags lovingly entwined," he said, "for no one can be faithful to God without being faithful to his country. Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's."

Such a discourse must necessarily include some reference to the struggle for the rights of labor which had caused so large a part of his solicitude and efforts in Rome. Without hesitation he expressed his clear faith that the American people would be equal to the responsibility thrust upon them by this problem, and added:

"Whatever may be the grievances of the laboring classes here, I believe our men are better paid, better clothed, better housed and have fairer prospects than those of any other nation I have visited. . . . As we all have a share in the blessings of the republic, so should we all take an active and loyal part in upholding the Commonwealth, which gives liberty without license and wields authority without despotism.

"The man who would endeavor to undermine the laws and institutions of this country deserves the fate of those

who laid profane hands on the Ark of the Lord. There are some misguided men in our country—thank God, they are very few—who are appropriately called anarchists and nihilists. They are so infatuated, not to say ungrateful to their country, that, like Samson, they would fain pull down the constitutional temple which shelters them, even though they should perish in the ruins. May Almighty God, by whom rulers reign and lawgivers decree just things, preserve our country for the peace and prosperity of our generation and for the happiness of countless peoples yet unborn!"

The patriotic celebrations which are always numerous in America had hitherto been seldom marked by the presence of a Catholic prelate. There was a practise of beginning some of these observances with an invocation, but up to that time Protestant ministers had been called upon almost exclusively to perform that service. In many cases there had been no disposition to show discourtesy toward, or neglect of, the Catholic Church; but there had been a gulf of misunderstanding which had prevented the invitations from being extended to any others than non-Catholics.

Now this gulf was becoming dry land, to be passed over as the children of Israel passed over the rift in the Red Sea. There was a Catholic prelate—and he occupied the highest position of his Church in America—whom no one would suspect of unwillingness to discharge any public or semi-public duty which he might be solicited to perform.

Thus when preparations were being made to celebrate in 1887 the centennial of the American Constitution, an invitation was given to Cardinal Gibbons to offer the

closing prayer on September 17, the anniversary of the signing. The invitation was extended by Hampton L. Carson in behalf of those who organized the centennial exercises. The Cardinal replied:

"BALTIMORE, August 23, 1887.

"*H. L. Carson, Esq., Secretary,*
"Philadelphia.

"RESPECTED DEAR SIR:—

"I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor informing me that I am invited to make the closing prayer on the 17th day of September next, and to invoke a benediction.

"I gratefully accept the invitation, and shall cheerfully comply with the request of the committee by performing the sacred duty assigned to me.

"I heartily rejoice in common with my fellow citizens in the forthcoming celebration. The Constitution of the United States is worthy of being written in letters of gold. It is a charter by which the liberties of sixty million people are secured, and by which under Providence the temporal happiness of countless millions yet unborn is to be perpetuated.

"I am,

"Yours very sincerely in Christ,

"JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,
"Archbishop of Baltimore."

There seemed always to be a prayer for his country in Gibbons' heart struggling to find utterance. For this occasion he framed a petition of a kind which he often used at future public ceremonies of national import and in which the patriotic appeal far exceeded in fervor that which was usually to be found in the rather formal prayers which most clergymen offered at such times. It was based upon one written by Archbishop Carroll, which

Gibbons had modified to suit the occasion and was as follows:

"We pray Thee, O God of might, wisdom and justice, through whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted and judgment decreed, to assist with Thy holy spirit of counsel and fortitude the President of these United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness, and be eminently useful to Thy people over whom he presides, by encouraging due respect for virtue and religion, by a faithful execution of the laws in justice and mercy, and by restraining vice and immorality.

"Let the light of Thy divine wisdom direct the deliberations of Congress and shine forth in all their proceedings and laws framed for our rule and government, so that they may tend to the preservation of peace, the promotion of national happiness, the increase of industry, sobriety and useful knowledge, and may perpetuate to us the blessings of equal liberty.

"We pray Thee for all judges, magistrates and other officers who are appointed to guard our political welfare, that they may be enabled by Thy powerful protection to discharge the duties of their respective stations with honesty and ability.

"We pray Thee especially for the judges of our Supreme Court, that they may interpret the laws with even-handed justice. May they ever be the faithful guardians of the temple of the constitution, whose construction and solemn dedication to our country's liberties we commemorate today. May they stand as watchful and incorruptible sentinels at the portals of this temple, shielding it from profanation and hostile invasion.

"May this glorious charter of our civil rights be deeply imprinted on the hearts and memories of our people. May it foster in them a spirit of patriotism; may it weld

together and assimilate in national brotherhood the diverse races that come to seek a home amongst us. May the reverence paid to it conduce to the promotion of social stability and order, and may it hold the ægis of its protection over us and generations yet unborn, so that the temporal blessings which we enjoy may be perpetuated.

"Grant, O Lord, that our republic, unexampled in the history of the world in material prosperity and growth of population, may be also, under Thy over-ruling providence, a model to all nations in upholding liberty without license, and in wielding authority without despotism.

"Finally, we recommend to Thy unbounded mercy all our brethren and fellow-citizens throughout the United States, that they may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy most holy law, that they may be preserved in union and in that peace which the world can not give, and after enjoying the blessings of this life, be admitted to those which are eternal.

"Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done, on earth, as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen."

At the conclusion of the prayer the Cardinal invoked a benediction in the following words:

"May the blessing of Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, descend upon our beloved country and upon all her people, and abide with them forever. Amen."

President Cleveland, his cabinet and a host of distinguished men were present at the exercises. Many of these the Cardinal knew personally, and others were eager to meet the churchman who had done so much for his

country at home and abroad. His red robe, an unfamiliar sight in America, invested his presence among the crowds with a novel interest; and when they found that it covered a man as typically American as any, alert, active, patriotic to the core, sharing keenly their enthusiasm for the institutions of the country, he became, next to the President, the principal figure in the celebration.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE VISION OF THE WEST

Gibbons' imagination had been stirred by tales of the West, which he had not been able to visit in his earlier years. Indeed, the West was to most Americans in 1887 an unknown land, invested in their minds with a mysterious and fanciful character. Railroads had only recently begun to radiate widely from the main arteries that linked the Atlantic and the Pacific, and the stream of settlers, long congested by the necessity of slow travel in "prairie schooners," was now bursting like a flood through a suddenly opened dam. Thousands of cowboys still roamed on the cattle ranges. Many parts of the Rocky Mountain region, and the States to the west of it, were so remote from centers of civil government that the rude judicial processes of the mining camp continued to be practised there. But these conditions were not to prevail long. Ambitious towns, and even cities, already stood where but a few years before the howl of the coyote had pierced an otherwise silent wilderness.

The material transformation of the West fascinated Gibbons, but the mainspring of his interest was in carrying the Cross wherever the settler's pack mule penetrated. He had become familiar with the former religious complexities which hindered the full progress of the Church in that region, through the insistent demand of the

Bishops that unified regulations adapted to their part of the country should be framed by the Third Plenary Council. Now that the Council had done its work, the Church was able to expand with equal facility among the settlers from the American East who were thronging to the States of the West, among the peoples of Mexican stock, still numerous in the lands inhabited by their ancestors in the southwestern territories that had been incorporated in the United States through the fortunes of war; and among the Germans, Italians, Poles and Scandinavians who were pouring in large numbers into Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas and other States along the courses of the Mississippi and the Missouri.

The progress of Gibbons was a triumph, for Americans are exceptionally quick to recognize a national champion and to elevate him to the position of a popular hero. Tidings of what he had done in Rome and since his return seemed to have spread even to remote hamlets. A mighty wave of appreciation swept over the Western land.

The opportunity which he had seized for his trip was an invitation to confer the pallium at Portland, Oregon, upon Archbishop Gross, his long-time friend, "born nearly in the same street," as he said, and the brother of that faithful priest, the Rev. Mark S. Gross, with whom he had shared privations and labors in North Carolina. Leaving Baltimore late in September, he went to Chicago, where he was the guest of Archbishop Feehan; then to Milwaukee, a center of German born Catholics, where he was entertained by Archbishop Heiss.

The city of St. Paul, the seat of Archbishop Ireland,

his ardent champion and coworker in struggles both in Rome and in this country, was in a bustle of preparations to receive him. A public reception was given in his honor there on September 20, and a banquet was held at which the Archbishop spoke in eulogy of the distinguished guest. The tone of all the speeches was one of acclamation of the new Cardinal as an American citizen and as a prince of the Church. Judge William L. Kelly, speaking for the laity, dwelt upon the recent participation of Gibbons in the Constitutional Centennial celebration, saying:

"But yesterday, at the invitation of your fellow-citizens, irrespective of religious faith or political association, you, priest, Archbishop, Cardinal, raised your hand above the assembled multitudes and, in the name of your sacred office, invoked the blessing of Almighty God upon the Constitution of these United States. In that particular, illustrious sir, your voice, it seems to me, was not merely that of the priest, but of the prophet of God as well. . . . The old lines that have long kept us apart from our brethren without the fold are, thank God, well nigh obliterated here. On all great questions, social and political, we stand in St. Paul side by side. We are staunch in our religious faith, and they in theirs, and the honesty of neither is questioned; and no one has done more to bring about that cordial catholic condition of things than the man who sits at your side. To name him is to do him honor—John Ireland."

The Cardinal aroused the crowd by one of those happy sentences which he knew well when and how to use. He exclaimed:

"You were pleased to mention my pride in being an American citizen. It is the proudest earthly title I possess."

He could not forbear to refer to the gifted and courageous comrade who had stood with him in the supreme stress of some of the principal battles which he had fought—battles in which the material welfare of men was sought as well as their spiritual welfare. Of Archbishop Ireland he said:

"For many years, I have been closely watching Archbishop Ireland's career. It was my pleasure to be associated with him at the last Plenary Council of Baltimore. For three weeks I studied him, and the more I studied him, the more I admired and loved him. Archbishop Ireland came to you as a Providential messenger sent to you by Almighty God. He has done untold good through the temporal blessings which he has helped to bestow upon society."

In the same address he spoke publicly for the first time of a movement then much agitated to incorporate the name of God in the national Constitution. Many clergymen had joined in this agitation. Gibbons said:

"For my part I have not desired to see that venerable name used in this respect, so long as it remains inscribed on the tablets of the hearts of the people and the rulers of the nation. I would rather speak with the living captain than with the figure on the prow of the ship."

Proceeding to Montana, then but scantily peopled, he was the guest of Bishop Brondel at Helena, which greeted him with a popular outpouring. By this time he had caught some of the buoyancy of the western spirit and in responding to the welcome he predicted that marked material development would come to that State. Again he emphasized his sense of honor in being an American, say-

ing that it was as great a title as the citizenship of which the ancient Romans were accustomed to boast. His travels abroad, he said, had enhanced his love for his own country, and he felt a faith in its destiny which had upheld him in the trials through which he had passed.

Reaching Portland early the next month, he officiated [1] at the investiture of Archbishop Gross, which was attended by all the prelates of the Northwest, who felt a special compliment to their part of the country in the presence of the Cardinal. The citizens of Portland gave him a public reception the next day at which H. E. McGlynn, in an address, took occasion to recall his victory for labor, saying:

"As long as men are compelled to labor; as long as they feel called upon to unite for their own protection; as long as the Divine mandate remains true, 'in the sweat of thy face shall thou eat bread,' so long shall the name of Cardinal Gibbons be venerated among men."

The earnestness of the speaker reflected the acuteness of the labor question at that time on the Pacific coast, where, in new soil, the seed of agitation took root more deeply and more quickly than in the cities and towns along the Atlantic seaboard. There had been some violence, and there was danger of more violence in the movement there. The Cardinal seized the opportunity in his response to plead for peaceful adjustments between capital and labor.

One of the compliments which touched him most in the course of his trip was paid to him at Fort Vancouver, where General John Gibbon, the commander, enter-

[1] On Sunday, October 9.

tained him. When he arrived there by boat, Lieutenant Anderson, who commanded a squad of soldiers sent by the commander to meet him, said:

"Your Eminence, it was customary in ancient times when a prince of the realm traveled for the governors of cities to release some prisoners in honor of his visit. As you are a Prince of the Church, I intend to release some men confined here."

He then summoned six private soldiers from the prison in the fort, and said to them:

"Soldiers, consider yourselves free in honor of Cardinal Gibbons."

The circumstance that his visit was an instrument of mercy to these men pleased Gibbons far more than the official honors which were extended to him.

Everywhere he was received as an eminent citizen, no less than as a leader of the Church. One welcoming speech after another rang in his ears, and no man was readier than he to respond in the vein which was habitual to him on such occasions. In San Francisco Archbishop Riordan was particularly cordial and entertained him most hospitably for several days. Los Angeles, where the Catholic population was also large, swelled with the importance of the occasion, and Lieutenant-Governor Stephen M. White, afterward United States Senator, made an address to him there in behalf of the people.

Returning by way of New Orleans, that city, where he had spent part of his youth and where his family still resided, hailed him as its own. In behalf of the Catholics there, a gold chain and ring and a diamond cross were presented to him at a public reception. An address of

welcome was made by Edward Douglas White, afterward Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

The Cardinal returned from his transcontinental tour with new vigor and inspiration. He had absorbed deep and lasting impressions. They supplemented an ideal which he had formed in his study of American history, which had become and remained throughout his life one of the favored and fascinating subjects of his extensive reading. With a glow of hope, before he had seen the West for himself, he had traced in the pages of books the adventures of the Catholic missionaries who had penetrated that region centuries in advance of the tide of settlers, and carried the Cross along great and unknown rivers and across steep and pathless mountains. Was not the Catholic Church at home in a country watered by the Mississippi, which De Soto had discovered and named in honor of the Holy Ghost; which Marquette and Joliet, trusting themselves to an Indian canoe, had explored for thousands of miles and dedicated to the Immaculate Conception; which Hennepin had ascended to the falls which he had named in honor of St. Anthony of Padua? Was she not at home in the new States erected from the immense region which Coronado had penetrated with his adventurous Spaniards, carrying the Cross and celebrating the Mass on prairie and desert and by the sides of rivers which flowed into the still greater "Father of Waters?"

Many of these pioneers had given up their lives that Christianity might illumine the dark vastness of the Western World. Might not their example of lofty sacrifice now inspire the Catholics of a later cen-

tury to follow with eagerness where the way had been shown? The same Church which had gone in advance of the settlers of the West must now advance again as they advanced.

This was the hope that had sprung to life in Gibbons before he had started toward the Pacific; it had taken on new strength and fervor as he progressed through the stern climate of the Northwest and backward through the hot breezes of the States near the Mexican border. He knew that some day thousands of men would dwell where one then cultivated a township farm or ranged his cattle over half a county. Cities would grow where hamlets had stood; and men with a mission to the whole nation would arise from among the sons of these pioneers, who as yet toiled only at the foundations of a new development of life which the imagination could not forecast. Gibbons had observed that in the whole region won from Mexico the Catholic Church retained the strong affections of the people. Germans, Irishmen, Italians, Poles and peoples of other European countries who had been children of the Church in the lands of their birth were helping to make the prairies bloom with their industry, and mine and factory rang with the sound of their labor.

One of the most profound impressions which he received on the trip was that the Church must try to train these diverse national elements that were taking new root on western soil to build truly American homes which would replace those they had left in Europe. Within these homes, he wished the people to have the Constitution of the country in which, whatever their origin, they

had now cast their lot. He wished them to be, as soon as possible, homogeneous with their brothers in the forests of Maine and the cotton fields of Louisiana. If America were to integrate instead of disintegrate, the men and women of the new West, in his view, must be one—not one in individuality, but in those elementary traits of citizenship which he associated with the American character and the American nation. They must share a common respect with all Americans for the rights of others, a common submission to the political judgment of the majority after free and fair elections in which every man might exercise the right of franchise, a common faith in the perpetuity of their institutions, in the liberty which gave every man a chance, a common aspiration for a greater America that would be an example and a blessing to the remainder of the world.

He did not close his eyes to the danger, of which there was no lack of ominous indication, that antagonisms born of national differences in the countries from which they had sprung, and of political ideals germinating from seeds planted abroad, might prevent the consummation of a unified political destiny for them in their new surroundings. He was resolved that, as far as in him lay, this should not be; and faith in his country upheld him in the belief that it would not be.

It was not his way to observe a condition like this and merely deplore the danger of it. Neither did he lull his own apprehensions with the view that the assimilation of the foreign elements in America was the work of the political authorities alone. It seemed to him that it was also the work of the Church, the shepherd of the largest

group of them, to make them as soon as possible Americans. He felt that she must cooperate powerfully in bringing the foreigners who were peopling America in intimate touch with their new environment as rapidly as possible; that they must be made to feel that their children would look to the men of '76 as the fathers of the political system under which they lived, a system of free commonwealths retaining local self-government in a large sense, and yet, despite this lack of cohesion in some things, bound by a unity of national purpose as strong as in the closely-knit empires that then dominated middle and eastern Europe.

Gibbons felt that these people were different from other Americans only in degree, for all who lived here, except the Indians, were foreigners by descent. They must not be allowed to believe that the flood tide of diverse immigration could shake the fabric founded by the fathers and cemented during generation after generation by American patriots and statesmen. The Catholic Church, which had been the spiritual guide of most of these newcomers, in which they had been baptized and taught—this Church could perform a great service to the nation by leading them forward to that community of language, social custom and political hopes which were essential to their own welfare, no less than to the welfare of the other millions who dwelt under the protection of the same flag.

The contrast had impressed Gibbons in the West between the lavish opportunities offered to the newcomers for their material prosperity and the cramped economic conditions of Europe, with which his travels had made

him familiar; he felt that gratitude for the benefits found here should be one of the powerful motives in turning immigrants to complete identification with the land of their destiny. The thought that some of these men should take advantage of their presence here to sow discontent and attempt to decry the institutions into whose sheltering arms they had fled was abhorrent to him.

This feeling found expression in an address which he made a few months after his return from the West [2] at a convention held at Hot Springs, North Carolina, in the interest of immigration to the South. Among those who took prominent parts in that convention were governors of some of the Southern States, railroad presidents, and other leading citizens with whom the Cardinal made common cause in their efforts to divert part of the stream of immigrants to the rich opportunities in the South, which needed their labor in its struggle upward from the ravages of war. In an address at the convention, he said:

"I have lately traveled extensively in various countries of the Old World, and very recently in the vast regions of the North and West of our own country. I have traveled in both hemispheres with both eyes wide open, and as a result of my observations, I have no hesitation in saying that these United States offer to the industrious immigrants such advantages as working people cannot possibly have in the old countries. There are in Europe vast standing armies, which are a very serious drain on the moral, material and industrial resources of the countries. On the other hand, in our favored land we have only a small standing army scattered over parts of the border.

[2] April 25, 1888.

"We have no conflicts. We are at peace among ourselves and with all the world. This healthful condition is not due entirely to the fruitfulness of the soil, but mainly to the thrift, economy and indomitable energy of the American people. In the objects of this assembly you have my heartiest concurrence and my very best wishes for a full measure of success."

CHAPTER XXIV

RELATIONS WITH PRESIDENT CLEVELAND

For Leo XIII, the friend of America and of America's Cardinal, the year 1887 was marked by the close of half a century's labor in the priesthood. None knew so well as Gibbons what he had done for America; none knew better what he had done for humanity. The rulers of European nations, and even the Sultan, were sending to Rome gifts expressive of their felicitations, not only to the earthly head of a Church adhered to by 250,000,000 people, but to the man who had been the balance-wheel of Europe. The desire was strong in Gibbons that America should not be wanting in recognition of the anniversary, and Leo had intimated to him that an expression from this country would be welcomed.

One day after his return from his western tour he was considering how to bring this matter to the attention of President Cleveland, when his difficulty was happily solved by the arrival of the following letter in the handwriting of the President:

"Executive Mansion,
"Washington, November 17, 1887.

His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons:

"My dear Sir—I have thought that you would send to the Pope your congratulations on the occasion of the approaching jubilee.

"Remembering with much gratitude and satisfaction the kind words you brought from the Holy Father upon your recent return from Rome, I should be very much pleased if you could, without impropriety on your part, convey to him my congratulations and felicitations.

"Hoping that you are quite well after your extended travel, I am

"Yours very sincerely,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

The Cardinal who, in the meantime had become a rather frequent visitor to the White House, responded promptly by calling upon Mr. Cleveland and thanking him for the letter. He expressed at the same time his hope that the President would not be content with a formal communication, but would send some memento to the Pontiff indicative of his sentiments. As the centennial of the Constitution had just been commemorated, he suggested that a copy of the Constitution would be one of the most appropriate of gifts.

"None can question the fitness of such a present," remarked the Cardinal, "for the dissemination of the principles of our government abroad would be above criticism."

Mr. Cleveland accepted the Cardinal's plan as a happy one. The Cardinal said that he would have a copy of the Constitution bound suitably for the presentation, if the President would furnish the unbound copy. Mr. Cleveland would not assent to this, but said with emphasis:

"I shall insist upon having a copy bound in a costly and beautiful manner, if you will tell me how to do it."

The Cardinal suggested white silk or satin as an ap-

propriate binding. Mr. Cleveland then inquired as to the manner of presentation, and the Cardinal suggested this inscription for the book:

"Presented through Cardinal Gibbons to the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII, on the occasion of the golden jubilee of his Holiness, with the profound regard of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States."

Mr. Cleveland inquired how much time was left in which to have the book prepared, and was told that it would be well to have it ready in about ten days. On the tenth day afterward there arrived by express at the archiepiscopal residence in Baltimore a superbly prepared volume of the Constitution printed in Old English characters on vellum, bound in white and red, and bearing the presentation inscription from the President to the Pope. Colonel John T. Morris, of Baltimore, was selected to carry it to Rome for presentation at the jubilee festivities.

The presentation took place in the throne room of the Vatican, and was marked by an exchange of cordial sentiments. Archbishop Ryan made an address, and Mgr. O'Connell read a letter to the Pope from Gibbons conveying the President's felicitations. Replying, Leo expressed his delight at the gift and added, addressing Ryan:

"As an Archbishop you enjoy in America perfect freedom. That freedom, we admit, is highly beneficial to the spread of religion. . . . Toward America I bear a special love. . . . Your government is free, your future full of hope. Your President commands my highest admiration."

Leo exhibited the gift in his private apartment, with the presentation page open that visitors might see. Gibbons notified the President of the presentation in the following letter:

"CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE,
"408 N. Charles St.,
"*Personal.* "BALTIMORE, January 21, 1888.

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

"About an hour after mailing my letter to you to-day, I received a cablegram from Rome informing me that your valued gift, the copy of the Constitution, was presented with due solemnity to the Holy Father, by a special committee charged with that pleasing and honorable duty, and that the Pope received it with marked expressions of satisfaction and gratitude.

"I am very sorry for your sake that the gift has aroused the bigotry of a few individuals. But for one expression of dissent it will evoke fifty expressions of adhesion, and while the bigotry of the few will pass away, the admiration of the many will be lasting.

"With much esteem,

"Yours sincerely in Christ,

"JAMES CARD. GIBBONS."

The journal of Gibbons contains this entry of a further development:

"April 9 [1888]. I called on the President to show him the letter from the Holy Father acknowledging the receipt of the President's gift of the copy of the Constitution. . . . The President, after hearing the translation of the letter read, was so much pleased with it that he asked me to give him the original, a favor which I readily granted."

The letter of the Pope which Mr. Cleveland retained was addressed to Cardinal Gibbons and charged him with the duty of conveying his warm thanks to the President. Leo wrote:

"In fulfilling this duty, we desire that you should assure the President of our admiration of the Constitution of the United States, not only because it enables industrious and enterprising citizens to attain so high a degree of prosperity, but also because under its protection your Catholic countrymen have enjoyed a liberty which has so confessedly promoted the astonishing growth of their religion in the past and will, we trust, enable it in the future to be of the highest advantage to the civil order as well." [1]

With a deep sense of thankfulness, the Cardinal prepared for the celebration of the Papal jubilee January 1, 1888, in all the churches of his diocese. His sermon on that occasion flowed from the depths of his heart. Picturing Leo to the great congregation, he pictured also the standard which he had set for himself. He said:

"Leo XIII is to-day, perhaps, the most popular man in Europe, if not the world, and this is the secret of his popularity: He understands the times in which we live; he appreciates the fact that we are living in the nineteenth century, and not in the ninth; he understands the wants of the people, and sympathizes with their legitimate aspirations, while at the same time he is always the promoter and vindicator of law and order and legitimate government everywhere. He has found the key to the hearts of the people, and has entered there. Let us hope and pray that this great luminary, whom the Lord has

[1] A copy of the letter is in the Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

set over His Church, may long linger above the horizon to enlighten us by his wisdom and to cheer us by his example; and when his course is run and his light on earth is extinguished, may he shine for all eternity in the kingdom of our common Father, the source of all light and the author of all justice.

"The present illustrious Pontiff is a worthy successor of the Gregories, the Innocents, the Piuses, and of the long line of Leos that have preceded him. For ten years he has occupied the chair of Peter, a spectacle to the world, to angels and to men; and during all that time he has excited the admiration of the civilized world by his luminous intellect, his broad statesmanship, his strong judgment, his keen appreciation of things; by his conciliatory disposition, his personal integrity and purity of life, and by his great benevolence of character."

A warm defender at all times of the mission of the Papacy to men in the things of material life, as well as in spiritual things, Gibbons spoke of it as a great conservative force which at turning points in the world's history had guided events in the direction of civilization. He proceeded:

"But has not the Papacy much to fear from the progress of liberty? Give us liberty, this is all we ask—a fair field and no favor. The Church is always hampered in her operations wherever despotism casts its dark shadow. She always blooms and expands in the genial air of liberty. Amid the changes in human institutions the Papacy is one institution that never changes. It has seen the birth of every existing government in Europe, and it is not improbable that it may witness the death of some of them and chant their requiem. It was fourteen hundred years old when Columbus discovered America, and

our own Government is but of yesterday as compared with it.

"What means can be employed to overthrow an institution which for nineteen centuries has successfully overcome every opposition waged against it? Is it by the power of kings and emperors and prime ministers that the Papacy can be destroyed? They have tried, and tried in vain, from the days of the Roman Cæsars to our own times. Many persons labor under the false impression that in former times the Church was leagued with the princes of this world for the purpose of overthrowing the liberties of the people; that the altars were sustained by the thrones, and that they would crumble if this protection were withdrawn.

"But can the Church cope with modern inventions and the great discoveries of the nineteenth century? Rest assured the Church will not hide her head, like the ostrich in the sand, at the approach of these modern inventions and discoveries. For, if Christianity was propagated to the uttermost bounds of the earth at a time when we had no other ships but frail canoes, no other compass but the naked eye, no other roads but eternal snows and virgin forests and desert wastes, how much more now can we effect by means of railroads and steamships?

"Yes, we bless you, O men of genius. We bless your inventions and discoveries, and will press you into the service of the Gospel, and we will say: 'Lightning and clouds, bless the Lord; fire and heat, bless the Lord; all ye works of the Lord, bless the Lord, praise and exalt Him above all forever.'

"But may not the light of Christianity grow pale and be utterly extinguished before the intellectual blaze of the nineteenth century? Have we not much to fear from the arts and sciences and literature? We have nothing to fear, but everything to gain, from intellectual development. The Church has always been the patroness of

literature and the fostering mother of arts and sciences.

"At no period of the history of Christianity did the Popes wield a greater power than from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. They exercised not only spiritual power, but also temporal jurisdiction, and had great influence with the civil rulers of those days. Now, at no period did the human intellect revel in greater freedom in the pursuit of speculative knowledge of every kind than in those days. It was emphatically the age of universities. Forty-one universities sprang up during those four centuries—in France, Germany, Belgium, Ireland, Italy, Spain, England and Scotland."

Cleveland was one of the two Presidents with whom Gibbons formed his strongest ties while they were in office; the other was Roosevelt. He always appeared to be drawn to men such as they, whose predominant policies of action, as distinguished from policies of words, accorded with his own methods. His friendship for Cleveland and Roosevelt, and indeed for several other Presidents, continued long after their retirement from office.

He had first met Mr. Cleveland a few days after the latter's inauguration in 1885, visiting him at the White House to pay his respects, and remaining half an hour. The President was charmed with him from the beginning and urged him to renew his visits from time to time. Cleveland was a Presbyterian, but, like Gibbons, was singularly free from prejudice regarding religion. On not a few occasions he leaned upon Gibbons' advice at critical periods of his career. Once when the Cardinal visited him in 1887, he remarked:

"Would you care to have me read you my forthcoming message on the tariff?"

"I shall be much honored," was the reply.

The President then submitted to the judgment of his ecclesiastical friend, word by word, the famous message to Congress which cost him reelection in 1888, but brought about his overwhelming victory four years later. Gibbons, in giving the opinion which Cleveland requested, commended the frankness and statesmanlike character of the message, but did not hesitate to forecast the political complications which would ensue and which soon burst with a force of public reaction which sent Mr. Cleveland into retirement from political life for four years.

Gibbons' warm interest in the welfare of the Indians was shared by Cleveland, and they were in mutual touch as to the methods of administering the Indian Bureau at Washington. There was much complaint against the federal agents who were then, to a large extent, intermediaries between the government and the Indians in their homes and schools. On one occasion the Cardinal wrote:

"BALTIMORE, December 6, 1887.

"To the President:

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I take the liberty of enclosing a letter received this morning from Archbishop Gross, of Oregon, in reference to his Indian grievance. I think the Archbishop and the Indians will be reasonably satisfied if:

"First: The present agent be transferred from Coffey elsewhere, and another substituted in his place. The new agent could be selected from those names recom-

mended by the Archbishop, or some other might be appointed in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.

"Second: It would be a great consolation to the poor Indians if the Sisters were restored as teachers.

"I also avail myself of this occasion by enclosing a letter from Bishop Wadhams, of Ogdensburg, who recommends Rev. J. G. Normandeau for the post of army chaplain.

"I am the more emboldened in presenting these requests, as your excellency kindly introduced these subjects in our late conversation.

"I am, with great respect, your humble servant in Christ,

"JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS."

Cleveland refused to appoint any Catholic chaplain to the army without the recommendation of Gibbons. On one occasion great pressure was brought to bear on him to appoint a certain priest who did not enjoy the Cardinal's confidence. Gibbons was frequently importuned to recommend the priest, but firmly declined to do so. Resort was then had to threats, and it was intimated that if Cleveland and Gibbons did not recede from their attitude they would be pictured in the pages of *Puck*. This showed a serious misjudgment of the characters of these two men for, among the other traits which they possessed in common, both were so constituted that threats would only make them more fixed in any position which they assumed on a question of right and wrong. The clergyman was not appointed.

Mr. Cleveland often referred to his friend as one of the most sterling types of the American citizen. Upon meeting persons from Baltimore, he not infrequently said:

"From Baltimore? Oh, that is Cardinal Gibbons' city! There are some men in Baltimore whom I particularly admire, and none more than the Cardinal."

Mr. Cleveland sent to the Cardinal a copy of his last message to Congress delivered in his first term as President. In acknowledging the receipt of it, the Cardinal wrote:

"BALTIMORE, December 15, 1888.

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

"I beg to thank you for your admirable message, which you kindly sent me.

"I profit by this occasion to offer you my heartfelt thanks for the many courtesies you have extended to me during your administration, now drawing to a close.

"Rest assured that in returning to private life you will bear with you undiminished the high esteem and regard I entertained for you in your public career.

"Wishing you every blessing from Divine Providence,

"I am

"Yours faithfully in Christ,

"JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,

"Archbishop of Baltimore."

Gibbons was fond of saying that one of the best evidences which he found of the stability of American institutions was the acquiescence of all in the verdicts of presidential elections. In November, 1888, he issued a Thanksgiving circular in which he drew this lesson from the election held a few weeks before, at which General Harrison had been chosen to succeed Mr. Cleveland:

"In other lands the times for choosing the rulers of the nation are often occasions of political convulsion, of the interruption of all peaceful pursuits, and sometimes

even of strife and bloodshed. The recent contest between 10,000,000 voters of this Republic, representing 60,000,000 people, has been settled peaceably and constitutionally, without the loss of a single life or even any interruption of men's ordinary avocations."[2]

At the one hundredth anniversary of the first President's inauguration, April 30, 1889, he issued a pastoral letter directing the ringing of all church bells for half an hour, and a special service in every Catholic house of worship in the diocese of Baltimore. In this letter he expressed, "profound satisfaction that the citizens of the United States, without regard to race or creed or previous allegiance to any flag whatsoever" were recognizing the life and achievements of Washington, "a gift of Almighty God to his own age and an exemplar to all the ages to be." The Cardinal was present at the Mass celebrated in the Baltimore Cathedral in honor of the anniversary.

In and out of the pulpit he was fond of quoting lessons from the life of Washington. Perhaps next to Washington, his favorite character in American history was Franklin, of whose services in the formative period of the Republic he had a vivid appreciation. He was always ready to defend his belief that Americans were a religious people, and one of the instances which he cited most frequently to prove his point was the counsel of Franklin to his colleagues in the constitutional convention of 1787, when they seemed to have reached an impasse in their deliberations, to seek "light from the Father of Light to illumine our understanding."

[2] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

In the early years of Gibbons' Cardinalate, as well as at rather frequent intervals afterward, the question of the reunion of Christendom was much discussed in Protestant circles. The Rev. Dr. H. K. Carroll, religious editor of the *Independent*, a New York weekly, sought the views of Gibbons on this subject, and he replied in a vein in which he subsequently answered other inquiries of the same nature. The letter was:

"Baltimore, October 1, 1886.

"*Rev. H. K. Carroll*,
"*The Independent*,
"New York.

"Rev. and Dear Sir:

"I have received your letter of the 29th ult., in which you ask my views as a Catholic upon the movement now going on in the Anglican Church, having for its object the 'Reunion of Christendom.' . . . Allow me to say that I cannot conceive any practical plan for the ecclesiastical union of all who bear the Christian name which does not recognize:

"1. Some authority living and acting that can definitely say what is or what is not Divine truth, since upon its revelation the Church must be grounded.

"2. The obligation, strict and essential, of receiving in its entirety Christian revelation, since Christ's work in giving a revelation would be, to say the least, useless if each individual were left free to accept or reject that revelation or any part of it, as his whim might dictate.

"3. That since Christ left a revelation He must have left some authorized interpreter of it, otherwise it would be as a puzzle given to unaided ignorance. . . .

"4. That since the mission of Christ's Church is to teach all nations, to observe all things whatsoever He has commanded, there must be some teacher teaching in

Christ's name and 'as one having authority' to guide the people unerringly in the way of truth. In the Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century, when Luther went out from her, these great requisites of Christian unity were found, and they are found as well in the Catholic Church to-day; elsewhere I fail to find them.

"In separation from the See of St. Peter, the center of Catholic unity, I can see only discord. In all this broad land there is no one who longs for Christian unity more than I do, and no one who would labor more earnestly to bring it about. . . .

"I remain,

"Most sincerely yours in Christ,

"JAMES CARD. GIBBONS,

"Archbishop of Baltimore."

CHAPTER XXV

A CENTURY OF CATHOLIC ADVANCE

Gibbons had received the red hat as the first century of the Hierarchy's existence in America was drawing to a close. John Carroll, standing shoulder to shoulder with Washington, had begun that first century by organizing the Church in harmony with the political institutions of the Republic, newly born from a union of sparsely populated colonies fringing the Atlantic seaboard. Gibbons began the second century by giving reality in a nation then nearing a population of 100,000,000 to the wise plans which Carroll had formed. Carroll set the task; Gibbons accomplished it.

While Carroll had sought to have the Church recognized as a pillar of the Republic, distrust of her attitude toward the State remained. He had sought to have her spiritual aims understood by the mass of his fellow-countrymen, but they continued to be misunderstood. He had sought to have the freedom of religion, guaranteed by the Constitution, reflected in complete and equal tolerance by men of all creeds, but intolerance clung on like a parasite to a vigorous tree, for the English colonies parted from king and parliament far more readily than from their immemorial prejudices. His was a voice in a wilderness, and the wilderness responded but faintly. The Church continued for a long time to be a feeble body here, almost submerged by the overwhelmingly

greater numbers of the non-Catholic population. She struggled patiently, preserving the inspiration from the example of Carroll, and gathered strength, but gathered it slowly at first.

And then came Gibbons. His personality dominated the beginning of the second century of the Hierarchy's life as Carroll's had dominated the beginning of the first. Where Carroll's efforts had failed of the larger fruition, Gibbons' work succeeded even beyond hopes. The visions of long years, cherished amid the gloom of misunderstanding, were turned into reality at last. Intolerance, stricken by the new David, almost perished utterly.

Now the Church was not only a prop of the nation as before, but Gibbons made the evidence of this so clear that men without distinction of creed suddenly hailed recognition of it as if it had been a recent discovery. Alarmists who had been crying that insidious plots for foreign domination through ecclesiastical artifice were being woven subsided into silence as the figure of Gibbons loomed.

Where the Church had increased by hundreds, she now grew by millions. The great obstacle to her progress in America—the obstacle of popular hostility—had been thrust aside under the brilliant leadership of the new Cardinal. There had been deep-seated prejudice against Catholics holding public office. Now they filled many of the most highly placed offices in the nation, the states, the cities. The religious freedom established by law was no longer negatived in part by mass prejudice. The pathway of Catholic progress was illuminated by joy, hope and confidence.

The Church in America was showing in abundance the signs of healthy growth. New questions were constantly coming up and were debated with vigor and spirit by the strong men who composed her Hierarchy. She was the antithesis of a stagnant church. The calm of mediocrity was not upon her. The misconception that she stifles discussion and enforces an arbitrary régime took refuge in the shadows. Gibbons wished vitality in deed and thought and brought it out. Men of strong convictions received marks of his favor. But when the voice of final judgment, framed in the detached and judicial atmosphere of the Curia, went out from Rome, it was heeded nowhere else with greater readiness than in the United States.

On this subject he wrote:

"Religious discussions are not an evil in themselves. On the contrary, they are an evidence of a healthy mental activity, a proof of zeal for the cause of truth. But in order that they may be useful and edifying, the parties engaged in them should be actuated solely by a love for truth. They should present their views with calmness and moderation; they should adhere with conscientious fidelity to the question under consideration, without encumbering it with side issues or irrelevant matter; they should invariably treat their opponents with courtesy and benevolence, never ascribing base or sinister motives; and they should abandon the controversy if they discover that charity is likely to be offended by it." [1]

In the same connection he quoted with approval the following views of Cardinal Newman:

[1] *The Ambassador of Christ*, p. 112.

"Differences always have been, always will be in the Church, and Christians would have ceased to have spiritual and intellectual life if such differences did not exist. It is part of their militant state. No human power can hinder it; nor, if it attempted it, could do more than make a solitude and call it peace. And thus thinking that man cannot hinder it, however much he try, I have no great anxiety or trouble. Man cannot, and God will not. He means such differences to be an exercise of charity. Of course I wish as much as possible to agree with all my friends; but if, in spite of my utmost efforts, they go beyond me or come short of me, I can't help it and take it easy." [2]

As marking the close of the Hierarchy's first century in 1889, Gibbons might have been content with a service in Baltimore to which dignity would have been lent by the presence of the Bishops of the mother province and a few prelates from other Sees; but his eyes were on the future more than the past, and he seized the opportunity to organize a national celebration of the most imposing proportions which it was possible for the Church to display. He conceived the design of passing her in review before the eyes of the American people, so that they might see what she had been, what she was and what she wished to be; that they might scan her in every aspect when there would be a full and conspicuous opportunity to do so. Thus, at one stroke, he might be able to produce the effect of years of striving. He wished to keep the Church out of seclusion; to bring her before the public so that there could be no mystery or doubt, real or imaginary, about her purposes or methods. Misunder-

[2] Letter to W. G. Ward.

standing was the foe which he fought with the restless ardor of a crusader of old.

America had been passing through more than a decade of centennial celebrations marking her progress as a nation since the troubled beginnings in 1775 and 1776. The people had welcomed each new one as eagerly as if it had been the first. Gibbons, in his preparations, followed the customary methods which had appealed so powerfully to his fellow-countrymen. His executive capacity was shown in the organization of church and civic demonstrations which were to last nearly a week, and were to be in a form which would be certain to draw the interest of the nation as nothing bearing the name Catholic had ever drawn it before.

Sensing the temperament of Americans as few men were able to do, he knew the deep-seated nature of their general view of the importance of participation by laymen in the work of churches; and he organized a congress of the laity as the main event of the week following the ecclesiastical commemoration at the opening. He had been looking forward to the dedication of the School of Sacred Sciences at the Catholic University of America, the first of the group of buildings for that institution erected upon the spacious site obtained for it in what was then an outlying district of Washington. Linking in his mind the physical foundation of the university with the centenary, he formed the design of timing the dedication so that it would be one of the principal events of the general celebration.

In his view, nothing could be more appropriate than the putting forward at that time of a great Catholic edu-

cational project in a country which stood as the pioneer and foremost representative of the principle of widely diffused intelligence. It gave him particular satisfaction that the center of Catholic education in America should be planted at the center of government, a truly national institution, working independently of the forces of civil rule, but strengthening them by diffusing the light which qualifies free men for the duties of citizenship.

Mindful always of seeking advice, of "having his ear to the ground," as Americans say, he consulted leaders of the Hierarchy and of the clergy and laity regarding the plans that took shape in his mind. From these consultations he acquired valuable suggestions which he incorporated among the details of his project. Having completed his outline, he proceeded without delay to put it in execution.

As is the American way in arranging for public celebrations, an imposing group of committees was soon working in preparation for the celebration. Each had its especial field, and the fountain head of inspiration for all was Gibbons, assisted by the exceptionally competent staff which he had then been able to assemble in his own household. He was entitled to a high place among those whom Americans later called "efficiency experts." The faculty of directing and inspiring others to accomplish big results by organization was personified by him, though he was averse to working by means of ponderous and showy processes. He sought results and adapted his methods to the men with whom he worked. His little study became for a time like the office of the executive of a great industrial corporation.

The American press, keen interpreter of the popular mind, developed a degree of interest which it had shown in no Catholic event before. Special correspondents were sent to Baltimore, and the columns of leading journals, most of which were controlled by non-Catholics, were soon spreading the details of the centenary and what it meant before millions of readers. A degree of intimacy was established between the Church and the people, in a broad sense, which had been unknown.

The forces set in motion by Gibbons now seemed to sweep over the land as in waves. For the first time, non-Catholic Americans began to realize that John Carroll was something more than a pious priest whose activities centered in beads and breviary. Gibbons was interpreting Carroll and making the interpretation known to his fellow-countrymen; he was interpreting the Church at the same time. He knew as no American churchman of any creed had known before him how to carry his message to the multitude. His desire was that the light of the Church should shine before men.

He hoped that the mass of his fellow-countrymen would share his view that Carroll had been a providential agent for the cause of religion and the cause of the American Republic. In a sermon on "The Growth of the Catholic Church in the United States," he said:

"If a prelate of narrow views, a man out of sympathy and harmony with the genius of the new republic, had been chosen (as the first American Bishop) the progress of religion would have been seriously impeded. It is true, the Constitution has declared that no one should be molested on account of religion; but a written instru-

ment would have been a feeble barrier to stem the tide of popular and traditional prejudice, unless it was vindicated and fortified by the patriotic example of the patriarch of the American Church.

"John Carroll was the man for the occasion. We may apply here the words spoken of John the Baptist: 'There was a man sent from God whose name was John. He came as a witness, to bear witness of the light.' "

In another sermon [3] he said:

"The Catholic religion subsists and expands under all forms of government, and adapts itself to all times and places and circumstances; and this it does without any compromise of principle or any derogation from the supreme authority of the Church or any shock to the individual conscience. For, while the truths of faith are eternal and immutable, the discipline of the Church is changeable, just as man himself is ever the same in his essential characteristics, while his dress varies according to the fashion of the times. Archbishop Carroll was thoroughly conversant with the genius of our political constitution and with the spirit of our laws and system of government. He was therefore admirably fitted for the delicate task of adjusting the discipline of the Church to the requirements of our civil constitution."

Pius VI had established the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States by a brief issued November 6, 1789, giving to Carroll as the first Bishop of Baltimore a jurisdiction which extended over all the territory then comprised in the federal union. Carroll had been one of the most active patriots in the War of the Revolution. He had gone to Canada in 1776 with Benjamin Franklin, Samuel

[3] On "Reminiscences of the Cathedral of Baltimore."

Chase and his cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, on a mission to obtain the cooperation of that country with the colonies to the south which were battling for self-government. In 1776 American Catholics numbered about 25,000, or one in 120 of the whole population; when Carroll was consecrated, they numbered only 32,000, or one in 107. His consecration took place in the chapel of Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, England, the seat of Thomas Weld, father of the future Cardinal Weld; Bishop Walmesley, Vicar-Apostolic of the western district of England, was the consecrating prelate.[4]

By 1889 the Catholic population of the United States had swelled to 9,000,000. From Carroll as a cornerstone the Hierarchy had risen in its first hundred years to the proportions of 13 Archbishops and 71 Bishops, the spiritual overseers of 8000 priests, 10,500 churches and chapels, 27 seminaries for the training of the clergy, 650 colleges and academies for the higher education of youth, 3100 parish schools and 520 hospitals and asylums.

Gibbons wrote to Leo XIII outlining the plans for the celebration. The Pope encouraged it with lively interest, replying:

"That great love for country and for religion, which you and our brethren, the Bishops of the United States, have so often and so nobly manifested, is again strikingly illustrated in the letter which you have recently addressed to us. From it we learn that pastors and people are about to assemble in Baltimore to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Hierarchy of the United States. On the same occasion you propose to

[4] Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, pp. 92 et seq., 356 et seq., 373.

dedicate the Catholic University, which, with the generous help of the faithful, you have founded in Washington as a happy presage of future greatness for the new era upon which you are about to enter.

"It is truly worthy of your faith and hope thus gratefully to recall the blessings bestowed upon your country by Divine Providence, and at the same time to raise up in memory of them a monument which will be an honor to yourselves and a lasting benefit to your fellow-citizens and to the country at large. We gladly unite with you in returning thanks to God, the author of all gifts. At the same time, we cordially congratulate you on the zeal with which you emulate the example of your glorious predecessors, faithfully treading in their footsteps, whilst ever widening the field opened by their apostolic labors.

"Most joyfully have we welcomed the expression which you and the other Bishops convey to us of your loyalty and devotion to the Apostolic See. We desire, in return, to assure you that, like our predecessors of blessed memory, we, too, bear an especial love toward you, our brethren, and the faithful committed to your care, and that we pray frequently for your prosperity and welfare, gathering comfort meanwhile, no less from the readiness of your people to cooperate in all manner of good works than from the examples of sacerdotal virtue which are daily set before them.

"In regard to your wish that some representative from this city should, in our name, be present at your celebration, we readily assent to it, the more willingly because his presence will be an especial mark of our esteem and benevolence, and of that bond of affection and charity which unites pastors and people to the supreme head of the Church.

"In conclusion, we earnestly pray to God, protector and guardian of the Catholic cause, that under the excellent and favored public institutions by which you are able to

exercise with freedom your sacred ministry, your labors may redound to the benefit of Church and country; and as a pledge of our especial affection we lovingly impart the Apostolic benediction to you, to our venerable brethren, the Bishops of the United States, and to the clergy and faithful committed to your charge." [5]

Monsignor O'Connell brought this letter from Rome to Cardinal Gibbons. He was soon followed by the representative whom the Pope had promised to send, Francesco di Paola Satolli, Archbishop of Lepanto, an Italian theologian of deep learning and wonderful eloquence, who was destined to play a great part in the relations between the Holy See and the Catholics of the United States. Satolli's first impression was one of amazement at the proportions of the celebration; and, though he could speak no English, he soon showed, after the manner of Tocqueville and Bryce, a faculty for understanding the true spirit of American institutions beyond the capacity of most men born here.

Cardinal Manning was invited with especial warmth, and, had he come to Baltimore, would have shared with his friend, Cardinal Gibbons, the honors of the occasion; but age had at last interposed its relentless barrier against that iron will, and he was forced to decline, sending Bishop Virtue, of Portsmouth, and Monsignor Gadd in his place.

From Canada came Cardinal Taschereau and six Bishops; from Mexico, Bishops Gillow and Montez D'Oca; and Archbishop Croke sent a fervent letter from the prelates of Ireland.

[5] Letter of Leo XIII to Cardinal Gibbons, September 7, 1889.

For the opening of the celebration in November, every American prelate was present in the mother Cathedral, except the aged Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, whose feeble health prevented him from making the journey half way across the continent. Besides these, 400 priests, the same number of seminarians, and several organizations of laymen took part in the procession which preceded the Pontifical High Mass.[6]

Archbishop Ryan, whose oratorical powers were then at their best, delivered a sermon which expressed the dominant spirit of the gathering. His voice vibrated with the bounding hope of the occasion as he said:

"A wonderful future is before the Church in this country if we are only true to her, to the country and to ourselves. She has demonstrated that she can live and move and widen without State influence; that the atmosphere of liberty is most congenial to her constitution and most conducive to her progress. Let us be cordially American in our feelings and sentiments, and, above all, let each individual act in his personal life and character the spirit of his Catholic faith."

Sketching the trials and struggles of the Church in the century that had closed, he pointed out that a great change in popular sentiment toward her had come, saying:

"Catholics and Protestants now associate more freely and intimately and understand each other better. Intel-

[6] *Souvenir Volume, Centennial Celebration and Catholic Congress,* published by William H. Hughes, Detroit, 1889. This book and Reily's *Collections in the Life and Times of Cardinal Gibbons,* Vol. I, the files of the *Catholic Mirror,* and the Baltimore newspapers of that time, are the authorities for many of the facts cited in this chapter.

ligent Protestants are gradually being dispossessed of the old notion that Catholics exalt the Blessed Virgin to a position equal to that of the Son, that priests can forgive sins according to their own wish, that images may be adored after the fashion of the pagans, that the Bible should not be read, and other absurd supposed doctrines and practices of the Church. Because of this enlightenment, and because of the high character of American converts in the past—men like Dr. Brownson, Dr. Ives, Father Hecker and many others—it is possible that some of the ablest defenders of the Church in this coming century may be men who are at present in the ranks of her opponents."

Dwelling upon the labors of Carroll in the cause of religion and country, Archbishop Ryan said:

"Love of country and race is a feeling planted by God in the human heart, and, when properly directed, becomes a wall of virtue."

He rejoiced at the bright promise afforded by the unfettered progress of religion among the people of the United States, notwithstanding the discordant elements of which they were, to a large extent, composed. He said:

"The fathers of this republic had to form a constitution and government for a people of every race, language, color and nationality, who they foresaw would inhabit this land. They had to combine a political catholicity with a political unity, and to hold the most discordant elements together by the force of law. So, also, before the establishment of the Catholic Church in this world, religions were national in their organization, though universal in their fundamental principles, and were adapted to particular peoples of the same race and language. But

the Church was destined to embrace within her government the peoples of every nation under heaven, to combine the most diverse elements and firmly to unite them and hold them for all time; and in no one country of the world had we to exercise this power so much as here, for nowhere else were they found together."

At Pontifical Vespers celebrated in the presence of the massed Hierarchy the towering figure of John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, appeared in the pulpit. Ryan, the orator par excellence, was the voice of Gibbons; Ireland was his right hand among the Archbishops. Ireland was the Marshal Ney of the new Catholic movement, daring sometimes to the extent of what timid men called rashness, sweeping to his objectives with impetuous onset. Gibbons leaned upon him as Napoleon leaned upon Ney, trusting in his splendid powers of thought and action, his ardent loyalty. In almost all things Ireland saw as his leader saw.

Yet there were striking points of difference between these two potent and magnetic personalities. Ireland, swept along by faith in the causes which he espoused, sometimes disdained expediency; Gibbons seldom did. Ireland gave immediate utterance to the flaming word that leaped into his brain; Gibbons waited until time and events gave the opportunity to speak that word so that it would be invested with the greatest force. Ireland, starting for a conflict, stopped not for armor except belief in his vision of the right, stopped not even for weapons except the truth as it was given to him to voice from the depths of his soul; Gibbons paused to survey the line of march, to estimate the difficulties, to prepare

himself for every contingency that might come in the swaying tide of battle. Ireland was the ideal lieutenant, with many of the highest gifts of supreme command; Gibbons was the victorious leader who lacked nothing of full equipment for the great tasks which he set for himself and those whom he led.

The differences between these men were differences of temperament and method only. Their main thoughts flowed in streams exactly parallel. They were Catholics to the core, Americans to the core. Their creed was service to men. The service of religion was the greatest which they could give, the one service into which all others blended; but they interpreted religion in a sense which excluded nothing that would lift a burden from the backs of men. Their common impulse was not to sit in the house and bid men to the feast, but to go out into the highways and byways and compel them to come. As their Divine Exemplar had healed the sick, so would they heal the physical and material ills of their brethren; as He had given sight to the blind, so would they open the eyes of others to the full rays of brilliant light.

At bottom they had one all-embracing purpose: the Catholic Church in America must spread religion to the widest bounds among the people of the country which those two ardent patriots loved as Washington loved it. Their fellow citizens, the country, needed the leaven of religion to strengthen them and it for the mission of example and help to other peoples and governments which they firmly believed was America's mission. America must be a light for the world. She must first

practise for herself, then teach to all humanity the principles of political liberty, equality of human right and opportunity, unselfish service to and for all; she must spurn with righteous revulsion ancient methods of international chicanery, of covert or open aggression upon other nations.

How were these large ends to be sought? They could not be attained, as Gibbons and Ireland saw the outlook, by shrinking as Catholics before the doubt and suspicion which some of their non-Catholic fellow citizens felt toward the Church; by withdrawing into the deep shadows where they might escape in part the gaze of hostility. They were for going into the open, mingling and striving with the crowd, enduring misunderstanding as the martyrs had endured that they might allay and finally destroy it.

As men of religion, they held the full faith of the Catholic Church without a fraction of modification; as Americans they were one with their fellow citizens without distinction of creed, in simple, natural and wholehearted brotherhood.

It had been Ryan's part to voice in his strong phrases the troubled story of the first hundred years of the Hierarchy, although he could not forbear to relieve the picture with some of his own ardent forecasting of the future. For Ireland the task was to break loose from the moorings and sail his bark boldly upon the unknown sea of the hundred years that were to come. The subject of his sermon, "The New Century; Responsibilities, Hopes and Duties," bespoke the faith that was in him. He said:

"The past our fathers wrought; the future will be wrought by us. The next century in the life of the Church in America will be what we make it. Our work is to make America Catholic. If we love America, if we love the Church, to mention the work suffices. Our cry shall be 'God wills it,' and our hearts shall leap with Crusader enthusiasm. . . .

"The Catholic Church will confirm and preserve, as no human power or human church can, the liberties of the republic. The importance of the position of America to the cause of religion cannot well be overestimated. It is a Providential nation. How youthful, and yet how great! How bright in glorious promise! . . .

"The movements of the modern world have their highest tension in the United States. The natural order is here seen at its best, and here it displays its fullest symmetry. Here should the Church, unhampered by the government or by despotic custom, come with the freedom of the son of Issai, choose its arms, and, marching straight for the opposing foe, bring the contest to a speedy close.

"Of inestimable value to us is the liberty the Church enjoys under the constitution of the republic. No tyrant here casts chains around her. No concordat limits her action or cramps her energies. She is as free as the eagle upon Alpine hills—free to spread out in unrestricted flight her pinions, to soar to vast altitudes, to put into action all her native energies. The law of the land protects her in her rights, and asks in return no sacrifices for those rights; for her rights are those of American citizenship. . . .

"There is needed a thorough sympathy with the country. The Church of America must be, of course, as Catholic as in Jerusalem or Rome; but, so far as her garments assume color from the local atmosphere, she must be American. Let no one dare paint her brow with foreign

tint or pin to her mantle foreign linings! There is danger; she receives large accessions of natives from foreign countries. God witnesseth it, they are welcome! I will not enter upon their personal affections and tastes; yet, should those be foreign, they shall not encrust upon the Church.

"Americans have no longings for a church of foreign aspect. It would acquire no influence over them. In no manner could it prosper; exotics have but sickly forms. I would have Catholics be the first patriots in the land.

"This is an intellectual age; it worships intellect. All things are treated by the touchstone of intellect, and the ruling power, public opinion, is formed by it. The Church will be judged by the standard of intellect. . . .

"We have a dreadful lesson to learn from certain European countries in which, from the weight of tradition, the Church clings to thrones and classes and loses her grasp upon the people. Let us not make this mistake. We have here no princes, no hereditary classes; still, there is the danger that there may be in religion a favorite aristocracy upon which we lavish so much care that none remains for others.

"What, I ask, of the multitude who peep at us from gallery and vestibule? What of the thousands and tens of thousands of nominal Catholics or non-Catholics who seldom or never open a church door? What of the uncouth and unkempt, I ask, of the cellar and the areaway, the mendicant and the outcast? It is time to bring back the primitive Gospel spirit, to go out into the highways and byways, to preach on housetops and in market places. . . . Save the masses! Cease not planning and working for their salvation. . . .

"Seek out social grievances; lead in movements to heal them. Speak of vested rights, for this is necessary; but speak, too, of vested wrongs, and strive by precept, word and example, by the enactment and enforcement of good

laws to correct them. Breathe fresh air into the crowded quarters of the poor."

Truly the centenary celebration was a feast of joy and at a formal dinner given in honor of the visiting prelates at St. Mary's Seminary after the High Mass felicitations flowed. A cablegram from the Pope expressing his joy at the triumphs of faith which the occasion commemorated was read; and Archbishop Satolli, whose Latin eloquence was then heard for the first time in America, predicted that Leo or some future Pontiff would visit this country. Greetings to the Church in the United States were conveyed by Cardinal Taschereau for Canada; by the Mexican bishops for their country; and letters were read from English and Irish prelates.

CHAPTER XXVI

A CALL TO THE LAITY—HIGHER EDUCATION

It had been Archbishop Ireland who had proposed the Congress of Laymen in connection with the centennial celebration of the Hierarchy and Gibbons had adopted the plan. Such a gathering of representatives of the Catholic body assembled for purposes embraced in the distinctive bond of their own faith would have provoked mob violence at periods not then so long past in the comparatively brief story of America. Even in Baltimore, attendance upon it would have meant risking life and limb no further back than thirty years, when the "Know Nothings" held the city in their bloody grasp and controlled the State government, proscribing all who held the Catholic faith from equality of privilege in civil life. Indeed, when the torrent of intolerance was below flood tide during some periods in the first century of the Republic, a national assemblage of Catholic laymen would have led to an outburst of bitterness, and a heedless remark on such an occasion might have held back the progress of religious tolerance for years.

But now men saw the Catholic Church in full and free outline, where she had seemed before to be hidden to many. If one asked if there was danger to the country in that Church, non-Catholics as well as Catholics themselves were ready to banish dread by pointing to Gibbons.

The Congress of Laymen might be held at last in the secure belief that honor instead of antagonism would be its portion.

Gibbons was not without misgivings that a reckless word at the congress might sow trouble. There was no precedent in America to guide it, and great harm might be done by an immature and unrepresentative expression of an individual opinion which would be interpreted as representative by persons disposed to harass the Church.

He was opposed to giving thought to the grievances of the past when there was so much of satisfaction in the present and of promise in the future. He never remembered personal wrongs and he did not wish the Church or churchmen to remember wrongs. Full and free forgiveness and obliteration of former misunderstanding in the United States was the basis of his own program and he hoped that it would be the basis of the laymen's program. Instead of bewailing what had been denied or what some might think was even then denied in part, he wished that the overshadowing feeling might be of gratitude for that which was freely accorded.

In his far-reaching studies of American history he had learned, as few men learn, the discriminations which had been practised against Catholics. This knowledge had steeled his arm in the struggle to break down those discriminations. He knew that no Americans had been more sincerely loyal in forum and on battlefield in the days of the American Revolution. It was even said then that "every Catholic was a Whig." Debarred before that war from holding even a commission in the militia, a number of them rose speedily to high rank in the army

led by Washington. Of the members of the Continental Congress a considerable number were Catholics; and they had helped to adopt the Declaration of Independence and had risked their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor in maintaining America as an independent nation.[1]

Catholics had shared with their Protestant brethren, knowing no discrimination in public life, the burdens of citizenship in the formative days of the Republic. In the War of 1812 they had again proved the mettle of their patriotism. Andrew Jackson, victorious over Packenham, had been welcomed to New Orleans by the Catholics of that city, headed by Bishop Dubourg, who celebrated in the Cathedral a solemn service of thanksgiving for the triumph of American arms. In the "Know Nothing" times Catholics had conducted themselves with great moderation and thus had limited the scope of that outbreak as a disturbance of normal national life. In the Civil War they had divided in sympathy like their brethren of other faiths.

Gibbons' affirmative thoughts on the subject of the treatment of Catholics in America outweighed his negative thoughts, for that was his temperamental predisposition on all subjects. A start must be made, he felt, in joining the laity on a national scale with the Hierarchy and the clergy in the new advance of the Church. As a safeguard for the proceedings of the congress it was decided that the Bishops should appoint the delegates and that the program should be submitted to episcopal authority beforehand; apart from this, freedom of expression was preserved.

[1] O'Gorman, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 257.

John Lee Carroll, a former governor of Maryland and a great grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, presided over the congress. The range of discussion included the opportunities of the laity, social questions, secular and religious education, temperance, Sunday observance, church music, the Catholic press and the independence of the Holy See.

In the main the atmosphere of the congress was one of sound ideas and patriotic spirit. A jarring note was struck, however, by Daniel Dougherty, of Philadelphia, in a speech deploring the political discrimination against Catholics in the past, but the sweeping disapproval which his address received from the mass of his associates in the gathering showed more effectively than formal words the healthy tone of the congress. Dougherty's remarks dealt largely with the colonial persecutions of Catholics, but he went so far as to declare that there was even yet a disposition to exclude them from public office. "The highest honors of the Republic are denied us," he exclaimed, "by a prejudice which has all the force of a constitutional enactment." Many of the delegates held important offices, national or state, and this in itself was the most effective answer to the general viewpoint which Dougherty expressed. He, himself, had been highly honored by the Democratic party and had been selected to make the nominating speeches for Hancock in 1880 and Cleveland in 1888 in the national conventions of that party; surely there had been no great discrimination in his case. While there had been no Catholic President of the United States, it was also true that American political history showed the rejection of no important

aspirant to that office because he was of the Catholic faith.

Dougherty's depressing echoes of past conditions found no counterpart in the other proceedings of the congress. Its general spirit was one of buoyancy and confidence. Resolutions which were adopted on the closing day embraced the fruit of its deliberations. They set forth emphatically that there was no conflict between the Church and the institutions of the country; denounced Socialism and Communism, while declaring that "we equally condemn the greed of capital"; condemned Mormonism, the tendency to divorce and other national evils. A clause favoring the Sunday closing of saloons was an outgrowth of an agitation then current for the general adoption of a "Continental Sunday" in America. The congress advocated a school system which included a course of religious training. It held that the absolute freedom of the Holy See was necessary for the peace of the Church and the welfare of mankind.

Gibbons felt deep satisfaction in the general aspect of the developments in the congress. He encouraged the delegates by an address in which he said of the gathering:

"It will form an admirable school for enlightening and instructing the members and preparing them for holding a more elaborate convention at some future day. This congress, by the mere fact of being called together, emphasizes and vindicates the important truth that it is the privilege as well as the duty of our laity to co-operate with the clergy in discussing those great economic, educational and social questions which affect the interests and well-being of the Church, the country and society at large.

"I confess that the desire of my heart for a long time has been to see the clergy and the laity drawn more closely together. They have, perhaps, in some respects been much and too long apart; for, if the clergy are the divinely constituted channels for instructing the laity in faith and morals, the clergy, on their part, have much to learn from the wisdom and discretion, the experience and worldly sense of the laity.

"And in no other country on the face of the earth should the clergy and the laity be more united than in our own. The laity build our churches; they erect our schools; they voluntarily and generously support our clergy; the salaries of our clergy are not ceremoniously handed to them by Government officials on a silver salver, but come from the warm hands and warm hearts of the people."

A short and vigorous address by Archbishop Ireland also inspired the delegates.

A torchlight parade in which thirty thousand persons joined marked the close of the congress. It took the form chiefly of a tribute to Gibbons, who reviewed it from the bay window of his residence, the background from which so many crowds saw him during the years of his Cardinalate. As the long line wound along picturesque Charles Street, the greatest moment for all who took part in it came when he imparted recognition and approval to each organization in turn.

The child of Gibbons' age—thus he called the Catholic University—was born on the fourth day of the celebration, when the University was opened with the dedication of the School of Sacred Sciences. It had been only a nebulous hope at the Second Plenary Council of Balti-

more, but had taken on reality at the Third Council, where the prelates, heartened by Bishop Spalding's zeal and Miss Mary Gwendoline Caldwell's gift of $300,000, had authorized it as a practical undertaking. Now, with the Pope's blessing and with the prayers of the Church, the University was ready to begin its mission of instruction. Miss Caldwell's gift had been increased by $50,000 contributed by her sister, Lina; and through the tireless efforts of Bishop Keane and others the amount had been gradually swelled to $800,000.

Bishop Keane became the first rector and in cooperation with Gibbons gave form and substance to the picture which he had drawn before tens of thousands throughout the country to whom he had appealed for the means that were essential to giving the undertaking a physical beginning. He was the ideal advocate of a noble cause—saintly in life, singularly winning in personality, fervent in appeal. Swept by zeal for the University as by a torrent within him, he carried conviction to those who heard his pleas. The fruit of his labors bore testimony to their effectiveness in a period when the raising of funds for universities was far more difficult in America than it came to be afterward.

There had been much discussion as to the site for the capstone of the structure of Catholic education in America. At length there was general agreement upon Washington as the center of national effort in behalf of the enlightenment of the nation. It was there that Carroll had made his own beginnings of a system of higher education when he founded what has since become known as

Georgetown University, the first Catholic collegiate institution in the United States.[2] Carroll would have been its first president had he not been raised to the episcopate in 1789, the same year in which he founded the institution. He could not then know that the national capital was to be established so that its municipal bounds would embrace the college of which he was the mainspring. In this, as in many other things, he "builded better than he knew."

The planting of the seed by Carroll was not forgotten in the centenary year. A prelude to the main celebration was the observance on February 20, 21 and 22, 1889, of the one hundredth anniversary of Carroll's academy. The two most conspicuous men present were Cardinal Gibbons and President Cleveland who, following the example of nearly all his precedessors from Washington down, visited that widely known Jesuit institution.

The cornerstone of the School of Sacred Sciences for the new and greater university had been laid May 24, 1888, in the presence of President Cleveland, members of his Cabinet, Cardinal Gibbons and other distinguished men. Early the next year the Pope addressed a brief to the American Bishops, decreeing that "as the See of Baltimore is the chief among the Apostolic Sees of the United States of North America, to the Archbishop of Baltimore and to his successors we grant the privilege of discharging the office of supreme moderator or chancellor of the university."

The massed episcopate was shifted from Baltimore to Washington for the dedication October 13, 1889, giving

[2] Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, p. 447 et seq.

full honor to the ceremony which marked the accomplishment of an aim so dear to the Church. Archbishop Satolli celebrated Mass and Bishop Gilmour, of Cleveland, preached. He pointed out the fitness of beginning the University's instruction with the divinity course, for, from the Catholic point of view "all true education must begin in God and find its truth and direction in God." The Bishop vigorously proclaimed the mutual help and dependence of the civil body and the forces of religion, saying:

"There is a widespread mistake, a rapidly growing political and social heresy, which assumes and asserts that the State is all temporal and religion all spiritual. This is not only a doctrinal heresy; but, if acted upon, would ruin both spiritual and temporal. No more can the State exist without religion than the body without the soul; and no more can religion exist without the State, and on earth carry on its work, than can the soul on earth, without the body, do its work.

"The State, it is true, is for the temporal, but has its substantial strength in the spiritual; while religion, it is true, is for the spiritual, but in much must find its working strength in the temporal. In this sense it is a mistake to assume that religion is independent of the State, or the State independent of religion. As a matter of fact, religion must depend upon the State in temporalities; and, vice versa, the State must depend upon religion in morals; and both should so act that their conjoint work will be for the temporal and moral welfare of society."

This did not mean, the Bishop proceeded to show, that any form of direct or legalized partnership between

Church and State was necessary or even desirable. He said:

"In this country we have agreed that religion and the State shall exist as distinct and separate departments, each with its separate rights and duties; but this does not mean that the State is independent of religion or religion independent of the State."

Bishop Gilmour found particular cause for satisfaction in the fact that the University had been "begun without State or princely aid, but originating in an outpouring of public thought and founded and provided for by the gifts of the many rather than by the offerings of the few." He pointed to this as evidence of "the widening character of American ideas and the existing conviction of the public mind that higher studies are clearly needed."

President Harrison, Vice-President Morton and nearly all the members of the Cabinet lent their presence to a banquet in one of the halls of the University which was held as a mark of the joy which the occasion inspired. A cablegram from Leo XIII conveying his blessing and sending congratulations was read; and Archbishop Satolli's Latin eloquence flowed again in periods that reflected the majesty of the language as few men in modern times have been capable of reflecting it. "God loves America," he said. "It is Leo's feeling that this is true; and he believes therefore that in America nothing is impossible."

Cardinal Taschereau, speaking for Canada, contrasted the unfettered progress of the Church in the United

States with the obstacles which impeded it abroad because of the "intense opposition of the potentates of Europe." He said:

"In the United States there is full freedom; and there is great comfort in the universal confidence placed in Cardinal Gibbons as the glorious representative of the Church in America. The Pope has always had unbounded faith in him."

President Harrison received, as the head of the nation, the acclaim of the gathering, which he acknowledged in a few words. Secretary of State Blaine spoke at some length, saying:

"I have come to the banquet, like my colleagues, to represent the United States not in a political sense, much less a partisan one, and not in a sense in any way in conflict with any church or sect or principle of religion. Freedom of religion is guaranteed in the United States, and this is one of our greatest blessings. I have spoken thus often in Protestant assemblages, and it gives me pleasure to repeat it to a Catholic audience. . . . Every college in the United States increases the culture of the United States. We have the criticism of an English professor, who admired America as the most intelligent land in the world and the least cultivated. Universities will, in time, give us a greater excellence in learning."

When Gibbons arose to speak all eyes turned to him as the center from which the inspiration of the great undertaking flowed. As he was accustomed to do on numerous occasions when he spoke in the presence of Presidents, he dwelt upon the value of religion as a stabilizing force in civil life, for that in substance was

one of the mainsprings of the great efforts which had led to the founding of the University. He said:

"We have all been more than anxious for the visit of the President, the Vice-President and members of the Cabinet, who have honored the University by their presence. They assure us of their sympathy for every cause to promote the religion and morality of the people in the United States. Though there is no union of Church and State, in any sense, the people have always upheld religion. . . . In olden times the Church admonished obedience to rulers when they were even obnoxious. How much more can she do so now, when salutary laws are made to foster the home and better society? A government is pleasing to God when it is in harmony, and how good it is when both clergymen and laymen, working in an individual capacity, bring about harmony."

Vicomte de Montalembert conveyed the felicitations of the universities of Paris and Lyons on the happy occasion. There were many other discourses. After the banquet the University course was formally opened by an oration in English by Bishop O'Farrell, of Trenton, and an address in Latin by Mgr. Schroeder, the new professor of dogmatic theology. All felt that, under the impetus which had been given, the University would take in time a place worthy of the Church and worthy of America. None could foresee the marvelously rapid growth for it which was to be unfolded in the passage of the next two decades.

Gibbons wished the city of Baltimore to be identified with the welcome to the prelates and the fifth and closing day of the celebration was marked by a reception to them at the City Hall, given by Mayor Latrobe, his close

friend and colaborer in public affairs during many terms of municipal office. Bishops and visiting laymen alike were welcome guests on that occasion. Men eminent in the Church obtained a close view of an aspect of Gibbons' life which inspired not a few of them with thoughts of what they also might do. These men, shut off in many cases from direct contact with the world in their absorption in ecclesiastical life, were amazed to see the Cardinal apparently on terms of familiar acquaintance with nearly everybody present, from the Mayor down to little children who came with their parents. Their surprise was almost as great to behold that the crowd with singular unanimity looked upon him as the foremost citizen of the community as well as the foremost churchman, and appeared to take this view as if by the force of long habit. Here was a sermon in some respects more powerful than any to which they had listened in the course of the week. If an Archbishop were in the community, of the community and a leader of the community, what need to fear a lack of common purpose?

The prelates from abroad found a lesson in this which struck them with singular force. The formality, the diplomatic restraint between churchmen and public men in Europe could be lost in the fusing of American life, and Gibbons showed both the method and the accomplishment. Delicate forms of ceremony, designed perhaps as much to uphold prerogative as to promote cordiality, were notably lacking in his relations with the numerous officers of civil government with whom he was on familiar terms. Neither he nor they had favors to ask but both felt the urge of a common aim. They met

on terms of simple friendship greater in its potency than documents stamped with official seals or precedent brought down from medieval days.

The new century was begun and there was a new spirit in it. The Church, marshaling her laity as well as her Bishops, had set her face against Socialism and the other transplanted political organisms which had threatened to grow in the virgin soil of America; had entered a militant conflict against divorce and other social evils; had spoken with mighty voice for the welfare of religion and the State, each independent of the other and each helping the other. The champions who now went forth to begin aggressively the work of a new century of Catholic effort carried new vigor and new hope into pulpit and pew.

As the Congress of Laymen met, *Our Christian Heritage*, Gibbons' second book, appeared in print. The delegates found a guide for their own thoughts and labors both in the Cardinal's vigorous defense of Christianity and in his declarations on current evils.

There was a local sequel of the celebration, and it shaped an act of legislation. Gibbons thus participated for the first time in direct influence of that kind, but, as always, he was careful to observe the proprieties, and his course met the approval of the leading people of the State, regardless of creed. A multiplication of small liquor saloons operated under cheap licenses was then a generally recognized evil, and in Maryland, as in other States, an agitation to limit the number of drinking places by the enactment of a high license law sprang up. This movement, although it enlisted the religious forces of the community, made slow progress because of the

strength and resources of the interests which sought the unhampered continuance of the saloon.

The time was opportune for a stroke that would end the impassé. Archbishop Ireland's temperance crusade was then nearing the peak of its vigor, and his ardor was aroused by the situation in Maryland. The zeal of the Rev. James Nugent, of Liverpool, called "The Father Mathew of England" on account of his long labors in the cause of temperance in his own country, who was a visitor to the Centennial exercises, was also drawn upon. With the approval of Gibbons, a mass meeting in behalf of temperance was held in the Baltimore Academy of Music on the Sunday following the celebration. Some of the most prominent laymen in Maryland, non-Catholic as well as Catholic, gave the encouragement of their presence to the meeting, which was arranged by the Cardinal's secretary at that time, the Rev. John T. Whelan, whose powers were enlisted to the utmost in the effort to strike a telling blow for temperance.

Gibbons, in a vigorous speech, expressed the particular reason which had appealed to him in assisting the movement.

"The blow we strike to-night," he said, "is for the benefit of the laborer, and as such it must and shall be successful."

The legislature which met soon afterward enacted the high license law, which would have been impossible without the influence of the mass meeting in marshaling public opinion in an irresistible phalanx.

The Cardinal was not so radical as the Archbishop of St. Paul in his views on the liquor question, then or at

any future time, but he was thoroughly committed to warfare for a reduction of the evils arising from drink. He was a moderate user of light wines at dinner, in which he found partial relief from the pangs of chronic indigestion. Had he believed the enforcement of prohibition to be practicable, he would have been the first to exemplify total abstinence; but, in his view, a statute aimed at abolishing the use of liquor would be but a vain performance. It would lead, he believed, to wholesale violations of the law, and therefore to a growing disrespect for the law. Example and judicious restriction, it seemed to him, were the best means of contending with the situation.

He condemned violent and spectacular methods in the solution of the liquor question as tending to upset the equilibrium of public judgment on a subject of vital concern. When Mrs. Carrie Nation, of Kansas, began a campaign of open destruction of saloon property without authority of law, which attracted a considerable degree of national attention because of its novelty, he remarked:

"Nothing in my opinion can warrant Mrs. Nation and her followers in taking the law in their own hands and wrecking the property of saloon keepers."

His consistent deprecation of the rigid restriction of personal habits by law was based upon his judgment of human nature. He was always inclined to allow for the rebound in such cases, and methods that appeared to him to be merely theoretical or idealistic, without being capable of bearing fruit in reality, never appealed to

him. Radical social legislation seemed to him to be inconsistent with the basis of government in America. He believed that the government ought not to attempt to do too many things, for therein lay the danger of failing in some of its essential functions.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE COMING OF THE PAPAL DELEGATE

The pentecostal wave of accessions to the Church which had set in during the early years of Gibbons in the Cardinalate was marked by an active renewal of the proposal in Rome to appoint an Apostolic Delegate to reside permanently in the United States, in order that the numerous and often perplexing problems to which the increase gave rise might receive the fullest attention. To this step Gibbons had been opposed ever since his position in the Church had been sufficiently important to warrant Rome in consulting him on the subject. His attitude caused the plan to be delayed and finally modified, but he lived to admit that the manner in which the office was established and conducted by succeeding incumbents avoided the dangers which had once stirred his apprehensions.

The question had long been considered in Rome and was naturally of interest to Leo XIII, who had distinguished himself as nuncio at Brussels. In 1885 the opinions of all the American Archbishops were sought by the Vatican on the advisability of establishing more direct relations between it and the government at Washington. The journal of Gibbons, who had not then been elevated to the Cardinalate, contains the following entries for that year:

"Dec. 10. Received from Cardinal Simeoni an autograph letter in which his Eminence asked my opinion about the expediency of the Holy See entering into diplomatic relations with our government.

"Dec. 29. I answered Cardinal Simeoni's letter received on the 10th inst., in which I deprecated any communication from the Holy Father to the President such as his Eminence thought might be advisable. I gave many reasons why such a letter would be very imprudent and might compromise the Holy Father as well as the Catholics of America. The only circumstance in which such a letter might be written would be one of sympathy or congratulation on the occasion of a public calamity or a signal blessing to our country."

All the other Archbishops except Ireland, in their replies to Rome, expressed the view that the proposed step would be inadvisable. Ireland was distinctly in favor of it.

The plan was revived in the winter of 1886–87 when Gibbons went to Rome to receive the red hat and laid the foundations for the policies which he was to carry out. He again showed opposition to it, and once more the matter was laid aside, as the following extract from a letter written by him to Archbishop Elder in the following Spring shows:

"I hope that the question of the nuncio is buried out of sight for some time, at least; I trust indefinitely. Still we must be always on the alert." [1]

Two years later, when a dispute arose in the archdiocese of Cincinnati, he expressed impatience that priests

[1] Letter of Cardinal Gibbons to Archbishop Elder, written from Florence, April 20, 1887.

should continue to besiege Rome with their appeals instead of submitting to the decisions of their ecclesiastical superiors in America. He wrote to Archbishop Elder:

"BALTIMORE, March 21, 1889.

"MOST REV. DEAR FRIEND:

"The numerous complaints sent to Rome by priests who have real or fancied wrongs are much to be deplored. I think that their number would be diminished if the influence of Metropolitans were invoked and exercised in the early stages of the difficulties in effecting a settlement.

"I fear very much that the Holy See may use these appeals as a pretext for sending us a permanent legate or delegate who would soon become the center of intrigues and that the dignity and authority of the ordinaries would be seriously impaired.

"With regard to ———, I do not think there is any danger of the Propaganda examining and deciding this case over your head. I hope, and believe, if any notice is taken of his case, that it will be through your Grace as Metropolitan. Any other course would be at variance with the promises repeatedly made to us at Rome, that the Holy See would not consider any appeal till it had been considered by the Metropolitan.

"Yours in Christ,

"J. CARD. GIBBONS."

Cardinal Gibbons' reasons for doubting the wisdom of appointing an Apostolic Delegate were based upon his well-known views of the respective functions of Church and State. It had been so long one of his favorite themes that the Church prospers most when divorced from political entanglements, that he conceived that the result of the experiment, in the form in which he then expected

it to be undertaken, would be at least doubtful. Misinterpretation, he thought, would be apt to arise; it might be held in some quarters that the appointment of an Apostolic Delegate, though his functions might be confined to the adjustment of purely ecclesiastical questions, would be an entering wedge for the opening of full diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the White House.

He believed that this last was impossible in his time, and not in accord with the spirit of American institutions. To his mind it would not help the Church, and he saw no validity in the argument that it was justified by great need. The Church had no difficulty with the government of the United States. Successive administrations in Washington had not only not been repressive, but had shown no disposition to interfere with Catholic interests in any place over which the American flag floated. Ecclesiastical authorities were generally sustained in their local property rights before the courts, whose custom it was in all cases involving procedure within the Catholic Church to adjust their decisions to the processes of ecclesiastical law and the Church organization. In the appointment of chaplains in the army and navy there was no discrimination, nor indeed was there any in the miscellaneous operations of the government.

In the few transactions which had required communication between the Vatican and the White House, the Archbishop of Baltimore had appeared as the representative of the Pope. General questions involving the relations between dioceses or Papal investigations of difficulties, financial or otherwise, which sometimes developed

in the jurisdictions of other Archbishops, had been customarily attended to by the same prelate, who received from Rome his authority to intervene and forwarded to Rome his reports of recommendations and action.

While this involved a considerable personal burden, the weight of which Gibbons had felt more than any of his predecessors because of the numerous missions given to him as the result of Leo's confidence in his judgment and discretion, he had no disposition to escape it and was willing to bequeath it to his successors. The national capital is within the See of Baltimore and interchanges with the national government by the head of that See were therefore convenient and suitable from every point of view.

Nevertheless, there was a demand among some American Bishops and priests that a method should be provided for a more prompt determination of ecclesiastical questions arising in this country. The United States was then still under the jurisdiction of the Propaganda, already overcrowded with the tremendous undertaking of managing Catholic mission movements throughout the world, and the questions which a Papal representative might appropriately solve in America were multiplying.

One of these which was becoming acute was the school question, involving experiments in the direction of coordinating parochial schools with the public school systems in various States. More than all else was a multitude of problems arising from the so-called question of Americanism—the nationalization of the diverse foreign elements introduced by immigration into the Church here. Opinion was dividing upon these things with in-

creasing definiteness of demarcation. The surge of Catholic growth swept upon the shore the driftwood of many perplexing issues.

Not only was the Church able to retain within her fold a host of the immigrants who were arriving from Catholic countries in Europe, but conversions were numerous and dioceses were springing up on every hand. To be a Catholic was no longer to be an object of suspicion in an ultra-Protestant neighborhood. Protestants were inclined to welcome a Catholic church in their vicinity in the same spirit in which they would welcome one of a non-Catholic denomination. A militant evangelism was building new churches where the Mass might be celebrated in the regions to which the new population was flocking. With the increased wealth of the country, it was easier to build churches, parish halls and schools, and to support the clergy and the religious orders in their ministrations. It was amazing how the old lines of religious prejudice were melting. Catholic and Protestant pastors worked together in movements for the moral and social betterment of the communities to which they ministered.

Archbishop Satolli had fascinated Leo on his return from the centenary celebration in Baltimore with glowing accounts of what he had seen in America. The strength and freedom of the Church here had made a powerful impression upon his receptive mind. In Washington he had been cordially received by President Harrison; and he had become cognizant no less of the vast possibilities for the advancement of the Church here than of the material resources of the nation.

A situation which arose in connection with preparations for the World's Fair, held at Chicago in 1893 to mark the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, gave the Pope an opportunity to make a test of the outlook for the appointment of a permanent Apostolic Delegate. Gibbons wrote in his journal:

"Sept. 15 [1892]. At the request of the Secretary of State, Mr. Foster, I conferred with him regarding a letter to be addressed to the Pope, through Secretary of State Cardinal Rampolla, asking the Holy Father for the loan of certain maps, etc., having reference to the discovery of America, and thanking him for his interest in the Columbian Exposition, where they will be exhibited. The Secretary of State gave me a warm letter which I am forwarding to Cardinal Rampolla."

Mr. Foster's letter began with a request for the loan of the relics, of which a considerable collection was desired for the approaching commemoration. He wrote:

"I need not assure you that the greatest care will be taken of them from the moment of their delivery into the hands of the agent of this Government who may be authorized to receive them; or, should his Holiness see fit to entrust them in the care of a personal representative who will bring them to the United States, I am authorized by the President to assure his Holiness that such representative shall receive all possible courtesy upon his arrival and during his sojourn in this country.

"The intimate association of the Holy See with the Columbian enterprise and its results has so linked the memory of Rome and her Pontiffs with the vast achievement of Columbus and his competitors in the work of discovery and colonization, that an exhibit such as by

the President's direction I have the honor to suggest could not fail to be among the most noteworthy contributions to this international celebration. By co-operating to this end, his Holiness will manifest for our country a regard which will be highly appreciated, not only by the managers of the exposition, but by the American people at large.

"His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, with whom I have conferred on the subject, has very kindly agreed to convey this letter to your Eminence." [2]

Rampolla replied by acceding fully to Secretary Foster's wishes and announcing the appointment of Satolli as the personal representative of the Pontiff at the Columbian exercises. He wrote:

"His Holiness has learned how great was the gratification felt by the President of the great Republic at the prospect of receiving the Columbus records, which will be sent by the Holy See to the exposition which is to be held next year at Chicago in honor of the immortal discoverer of America. The august Pontiff felt certain that the United States Government would spare no pains to preserve the various objects that are to be intrusted to it from any mishap, and he returns his thanks for the kind offer that has been made for their transportation.

"In the meantime his Holiness, who has so many reasons to entertain special regard for the United States Government on account of the liberty which is enjoyed in those States by the Catholic Church, and who justly admires the enterprise and progress of that country, has decided to be represented at the public demonstrations which are to be held there in honor of the Genoese hero on the fourth centenary of his memorable discovery, by

[2] Letter of Secretary Foster to Cardinal Rampolla, September 18, 1892.

a person who is no less distinguished by his personal qualities than by his grade in the ecclesiastical Hierarchy. This person is Mgr. Francesco Satolli, Archbishop of Lepanto, a prelate who is as highly to be esteemed on account of his virtues as for his profound scholarship, of which he has given many evidences in his writings.

"His Holiness does not doubt that this decision of his will be received with pleasure by the Government, and feels sure that your Excellency will welcome the prelate with your accustomed courtesy." [3]

Leo now resolved to appoint Satolli as temporary Apostolic Delegate to the Church in America, with plenary power, in order that he might observe how the arrangement would operate in that form. He commissioned the Archbishop in the following November for the new undertaking, but did not accredit him to the government of the United States, withholding from him all diplomatic status. The Delegate's immediate function was to represent the Pontiff at the public demonstrations of the World's Fair; beyond this the program was indefinite, depending upon the circumstances of his reception and the relations which might develop between him and the prelates of America, as well as the civil authorities.

Before leaving Rome as the custodian of the relics, Satolli conferred at length with the Pope regarding the ecclesiastical problems with which he was to deal on this side of the Atlantic; and, full of the spirit and purposes as the head of the Church, he sailed for America. Leo said to him at parting that he looked with flowing tears on the steadily failing Orient, but his heart and

[3] Letter of Cardinal Rampolla to Secretary Foster, September 28, 1892.

soul were filled with great joy in beholding the progress of liberty in the great Republic of the West.

Satolli had become a warm admirer of Cardinal Gibbons while on his previous visit to Baltimore, having observed with especial interest the lines along which Gibbons' cordial relations with the public authorities were maintained, and the devoted fidelity with which a large majority of the American Bishops followed the Cardinal's leadership. Arriving in America, he proceeded to Baltimore again, holding his first conferences with Gibbons, and spending some days at the archiepiscopal residence, absorbing from the Cardinal views of the situation which would aid him in the successful transaction of his mission.

Perhaps it was fortunate that the first Apostolic Delegate had not been trained in the diplomatic school of the Vatican. Although he possessed remarkable breadth of view and sympathies, he was essentially a theologian and had no impulse to concern himself with political questions. A native of the diocese of Perugia, he had studied in the seminary of that city, which was presided over at the time of Joachim Pecci, Archbishop of the diocese, the future Leo XIII. He became a favorite of Archbishop Pecci, who, after being elevated to the Pontificate, called Satolli to Rome, in whose atmosphere he developed the broad powers which the keen judgment of his superior had discerned that he possessed. He filled with success important professorships in the College of the Propaganda and the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics.

In his early studies he had been fascinated by the Thomistic philosophy. His commentary on the *Summa*

of St. Thomas, in five volumes, established clearly the profundity of his intellect. This and other works of authorship moved the Pope to bestow upon him a special brief of commendation. In appearance he suggested the thinker. Slight and of medium height, his brilliant dark eyes were capable of great expression. Surmounting them was a broad and intellectual forehead. Mingling with the expression of the scholar were strong traces of strength and self-repression, which indicated that he was cast in a mold adapted to great affairs.

Satolli executed his mission to the full satisfaction of the Pope and of a large majority of the American prelates. The fine tact which he possessed was in abundant evidence in his relations with the civil authorities in the events of the World's Fair, and no question was permitted to arise that was even in a remote degree embarrassing to either. Honor was accorded him on all public occasions, and he reciprocated by developing and expressing a genuine and discriminating interest in the institutions of the country. His ties with Gibbons remained the closest, and he soon grew to associate himself with the hopes and aspirations of the Cardinal, with whom he was much in contact in dealing with the important ecclesiastical questions which required action in the year of his arrival and the following year.

Encouraged by the harmonious relations thus established, Leo, in January, 1893, appointed Satolli permanent Apostolic Delegate to the Church in America, with residence in Washington. Thus the question of diplomatic relations was not raised, but the principle of having a Papal representative in this country was put in

operation. As late as the month before the appointment of Satolli as permanent Apostolic Delegate Gibbons had gone on record as not wishing to ask for it; but he promptly acquiesced in the decision and acknowledged that the plan worked well from the beginning. A memorandum in his journal shows that he wrote to Leo expressing thanks for the appointment of Satolli.

Satolli won the warm affection of the American prelates. At a meeting of the Archbishops in Chicago in 1893, they decided to issue an appeal for funds to establish a legation in Washington, and this was done soon afterward.

It was not in the plans of Leo that Satolli or any other Delegate should remain long in the United States. It had seemed to him that one of the special advantages of such an emissary from abroad was that he would arrive in the country free from local associations which might affect his judgment on ecclesiastical questions requiring a detached point of view. The general form in which the functions of the Delegate had been framed seemed to him to have been justified by events. There had been no encroachment upon the authority of the Bishops; no encroachment upon the State, nor even any direct relations with the State. Leo voiced his thoughts upon this latter question in his letter [4] reviewing his own Pontificate in which he wrote:

"The Church the usurper of the rights of the State! The Church invading the political domain! Why, the Church knows and teaches that her Divine Founder has commanded us to give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's and to

[4] Apostolic letter, March 19, 1902.

God what is God's; and that He has thus sanctioned the immutable principle of an enduring distinction between those two powers, which are both sovereign in their respective spheres, a distinction which is most pregnant in its consequences, and eminently conducive to the development of Christian civilization.

"In its spirit of charity it is a stranger to every hostile design against the State. It aims only in making these two powers go side by side for the advancement of the same object, namely, for man and for human society, but by different ways and in conformity with the noble plan which has been assigned for its Divine mission. Would to God that its action were received without mistrust and without suspicion." [5]

Satolli had served three years in America when Gibbons received a message from Rome announcing the Pontifical decision to confer the red hat upon the Delegate. This was preliminary to the nomination of his successor. The ceremonies of the elevation took place January 5, 1896, in the Baltimore Cathedral, when Archbishop Kain, who had succeeded Kenrick as Archbishop of St. Louis, preached. Reviewing in behalf of the Hierarchy the perplexities which had confronted the Delegate, and the success with which he had overcome them, Gibbons made a parting address to Satolli, who, in responding, spoke from the fulness of his heart, saying:

"It was you who received me at my coming, and who immediately became my friend and most zealous protector. It was with the aid of your wise counsels and unfailing encouragement, and the continual assistance of all the prelates of this great American Hierarchy, that my labors progressed and were crowned with success."

[5] Wynne, *The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII*, p. 571.

The regret with which Satolli's departure was viewed was lessened by the tact, judgment and adaptability which were displayed by his immediate successor, Archbishop Sebastiano Martinelli, who, as "Delegate Apostolic in the United States of North America," renewed the ties of confidence and cooperation which had been so marked in the case of his predecessor and the Bishops of the country.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SCHOOL QUESTION—THE FARIBAULT PLAN

The Catholic Church in America in the new flush of vigor and confidence under Gibbons' leadership no longer feared to speak her mind on any question that concerned religion. Issues never publicly pressed before, held in the background in dread of proscription and hatred, were brought out into the light of free and open argument. She knew her rights, claimed them all, asked no favors, conceded full rights to others. The spirit of Gibbons was her spirit.

One of these issues was the school question. No one held more tenaciously than Gibbons to the Catholic conviction that secular teaching of the young must be accompanied by religious teaching. As eternity was infinitely greater than time, so he repeatedly declared that it was infinitely more important to prepare for the future life than for the life of this world.

State supervision of schools commended itself to his judgment if it were properly applied. His idea of a public school for Catholic children was one under the supervision of the local examiner, no matter what his religious faith, subject to regulation in the use of textbooks the same as other schools; in discipline, class work, sanitary regulation and all other points conforming to the standard set by the public authorities; the teachers

CARDINAL GIBBONS AT THE PEAK OF HIS LABORS

From a photograph taken in 1891, five years after his elevation to the Cardinalate

to be appointed on certificate, subject to the tests provided for instructors in the public schools. But, apart from all this, he desired that the teachers of Catholic children should be Catholics, and that for a portion of the day, perhaps before or after the regular school hours, they should instruct the pupils in the principles and practise of religion. In his view it was desirable that the State should contribute to the support of Catholic schools only in the proportion to which the parents of the children in those schools were citizens.

He could see nothing un-American in this. A school of the kind which he favored was as much of a public school, in his view, as any other. He felt that this name should not be preempted for any particular type of school, particularly one in which religious teaching was either non-existent or so scanty as to be negligible.

Holding these views unshakenly, he was nevertheless not disposed to press the question of a general change in the existing system of public schools in advance of popular sentiment. He was persuaded that great harm would be done not only to the cause of religion in schools, but to the general cause of religion in the United States, by forcing a general verdict on the question of a new State system in the face of powerful opposition.

Gibbons had been keenly interested in schools from the time he was a young priest. The idea seemed to be present always in his mind that education was a handmaid of religion and patriotism; and that it was urgently necessary to diffuse intelligence as widely as possible among Americans, in order to prepare them for exercising the duties of citizenship. He had shown this bent

of mind when, as one of his first acts as a young priest, he established, under disadvantages which would have deterred a less resolute man, a parochial school at St. Bridget's Church, Baltimore. In North Carolina he had been so eager to promote Catholic education in a State where educational facilities were crippled by the paralyzing effects of the Civil War that he, the Bishop, had given up part of his time to teach a class in the school at Wilmington. Under his inspiration in the diocese of Richmond, the number of schools had been increased markedly.

He carried the same enthusiasm for education to Baltimore when he went there as Archbishop, establishing many new schools, and strengthening others. His predilection for teaching was also indicated by his continuous activity in the establishment of Sunday schools from the time when he was secretary to Archbishop Spalding, when, through his efforts, the first school of that kind at the Baltimore Cathedral had been founded.

He set forth his views definitely and forcibly in a pastoral letter on education issued to the clergy and laity of the archdiocese of Baltimore in 1883.[1] As a fundamental principle he declared that the religious and secular education of children could not be divorced "without inflicting a fatal wound upon the soul." A high development of the intellect without a corresponding expansion of the religious nature, he believed, would often prove to be a curse instead of a blessing. His idea of religion was to make it an everyday affair, not something to be put on like a holiday dress on Sunday. The religious

[1] Archives of the Baltimore Cathedral.

and moral training of the young should be interwoven with the threads of daily life. At every step, as far as possible, their feet should be guided in the paths that would lead to the precious goal of eternal salvation. Church and Sunday school were not enough for children. "They should, as far as possible, breathe every day a healthful religious atmosphere in those (week day) schools," he wrote, "where not only their minds are enlightened, but where faith, piety and sound morality are nourished and invigorated."

He admonished parents to develop the "minds and hearts" of their children, so that "then they can go forth into the world gifted with a well-furnished mind and great confidence in God." He emphasized the need of secular education for all and advised that the history of the United States, with the origin and principles of the government, and the lives of the eminent men who had helped to found and preserve it, should be an especial object of study, in order that the children might grow up "enlightened citizens and devoted patriots." He added:

"But it is not enough for your children to have a secular education; they must also acquire a religious training. Indeed, religious knowledge is as far above human sciences as the soul is above the body; as Heaven is above earth; as eternity is above time. The little child who is familiar with his catechism is really more enlightened on truths that should come home to every rational mind than the most profound philosophers of pagan antiquity, or even than many so-called philosophers of our own time. He has mastered the great problems of life; he knows his origin, his sublime destiny,

and the means of attaining it—a knowledge which no human science can impart without the light of revelation."

While a knowledge of bookkeeping was valuable for elementary pupils, he proceeded, it was not enough, unless the child were taught how to balance his accounts daily between his conscience and his God. "What profit," he asked, "would it be to understand the diurnal and annual motions of the earth, if the pupil did not know and feel that his future home is beyond the stars in heaven?" While it was important to be acquainted with the lives of heroes who had founded empires, of men of genius who had enlightened the world, it was still more necessary to learn something of the King of Kings, who created all those kingdoms and by Whom kings reigned. If the soul were to die with the body, then secular education would be enough; but it was not wise to train the young for the comparatively brief time to be spent in earthly existence and leave them without training for the infinite future beyond this life.

"Our youth," he wrote, "cherish the hope of becoming one day citizens of heaven as well as of this land; and, as they can not be good citizens of this country without studying and observing its laws, neither can they become citizens of heaven, unless they know and practice the laws of God."

The same privileges and duties which he exhorted in the case of Catholics he freely conceded to others. They, as far as they desired, might impart religious instruction to children of their own faith in connection with the branches of secular learning. In his mind, the

supreme danger was the rearing of the young without the guidance of any church, without moral instruction, without character building apart from the cultivation of the mind.

He feared that the children of Catholic parents, if they did not lose all religion in purely secular schools, might lose their own distinctive faith. To him this was a jewel which should be preserved. With all his remarkable liberality, it would have been absurd to say that he considered "one church as good as another," any more than a minister of a Protestant faith would have considered the Catholic faith "as good as" his own. He considered the Catholic Church to be the divinely appointed agent for the spread of the Gospel on earth, and the custodian of the deposit of heavenly truth. Acknowledging the common brotherhood of all the children of God, he could, and did, recognize men who differed from him in religious conviction as truly good and thoroughly sincere. Even those who were closest to him never heard him say a word in reproach of any religious denomination or of its members, individually or collectively. But he considered that it was desirable to exercise the utmost efforts without encroaching upon the rights of others to retain within the fold of his Church all children born of Catholic parents. Without parochial schools, he saw danger that the parishes would languish and disintegrate in the midst of the tendencies of everyday life.

He did not doubt the earnestness of the convictions of those who believed only in secular education in the schools. As far as their view extended, he sympathized with it; but his contention was that their plan did not

go far enough and embrace religious training also. He wished the Bible to be read in the public schools, if no other form of religious instruction could be provided. In a letter addressed to the President of the Chicago Women's Educational Union, he wrote:

"The men and women of our day who are educated in our public schools will, I am sure, be much better themselves, and will also be able to transmit to their children an inheritance of truth, virtue and deep morality, if at school they are brought to a knowledge of Biblical facts and teachings. A judicious selection of Scripture readings; appropriate presentation of the various Scripture incidents, born of reflection on the passages read and scenes presented, cannot but contribute, in my opinion, to the better education of the children in our public schools, and thus exercise a healthy influence on society at large, since the principles of morality and religion will be silently instilled while instruction is imparted in branches of human knowledge." [2]

The hope was strong in him that the problem would be worked out without excitement or injustice. Speaking at the dedication of a building for St. Joseph's School of the Baltimore Cathedral in September, 1892, he said:

"I trust that the Catholic schools will one day become in some way connected with the public school system."

He did not attempt to prescribe what that way should be. The next year, however, a program on the subject was drawn up by some priests and laymen in Baltimore, who set on foot a movement to obtain from the public authorities an appropriation for Catholic schools. A

[2] Reily, *Collections in the Life and Times of Cardinal Gibbons*, Vol. III, p. 173.

circular embodying their views was distributed, and preparations were made to introduce in the Maryland legislature a bill in conformity with them. The bill provided that denominational schools be incorporated by the State; that the trustees of such schools should have the right of selecting their own teachers; that the teachers should be required to pass the regular examinations as to competency that were provided by the public authorities; that the schools should be subject to inspection and regulation by those authorities; that denominational school buildings should be rented to the city or State at the nominal sum of one dollar a year each, which, it was urged, would save the State from an expense of some hundreds of thousands of dollars; and that the teachers should be paid by the public authorities.

The preamble of the bill declared with emphasis that its adoption meant no form of Church union with the State. Its essential meaning was thus expressed:

"As the State is not united to any particular religious denomination, the State is not expected to teach religion; but it can be supplied by public denominational schools."

If the support of Cardinal Gibbons to this program could have been enlisted, it was intended to begin systematic efforts for having the bill adopted by the legislature. But he firmly refused to countenance it, and his influence was sufficient to stop the movement before the bill could be introduced. He was persuaded that the time was not ripe for an annual concession by the legislature of an appropriation for the support of Catholic schools.

With the rapid increase in the number of Catholic schools which marked the spread of the faith among new millions, it was inevitable that the question should become one of the most important in the general perspective of the Church in this country. As such schools existed in many cases side by side with public schools of the ordinary type, in which no religious instruction was required, and in many of which no such instruction was given, there was bound to be discussion and proposal of various forms of fusing the two systems, because of the obvious duplication of cost and effort. From the beginnings of the public schools in the United States, Catholics who were taxed for their support and yet who sent their children from conscientious conviction to the parochial schools had felt the desire to be rid of the double burden.

A focus of all the controversy in which the question became involved developed in an experiment which Archbishop Ireland undertook at the towns of Faribault and Stillwater, Minnesota. The centering of the agitation there was due probably more to the strong personality of Ireland than to the novelty of his methods. Thus, when the discussion suddenly became inflamed, the designation "Faribault Plan" was often bestowed upon the whole problem.

It seemed to be the fate of Ireland to draw fire wherever he went. He was willing to face the assaults of popular tumult because he believed that in the end right would prevail, and that the American people would find a solution of all problems relating to their schools which would be the best for them.

When Ireland, not hesitating to strike out boldly, made an arrangement with the public authorities at Faribault and Stillwater, exaggerated accounts of its nature and purposes soon found general currency. Angry gusts of debate on the wisdom of the plan developed and impartial consideration of it in the public mind was for a time impossible. Enemies of the Archbishop made use of the situation for a twofold purpose: some, to make it appear that he was compromising Catholic principles of education by submerging them in his own diocese and accepting the principle of purely secular schools; others, that he was making war upon the public schools by insidiously attempting to undermine them through the introduction of sectarian influences.

Higher still rose the waves of controversy when Archbishop Ireland, in an address in July, 1890, at a public school convention in St. Paul, thus set forth the fundamentals of his view:

"The secular instruction in our State schools is our pride and glory, and I regret that there is necessity for the parish school. The spirit of the parish school, if not the school itself, is widespread among American Protestants and it is made manifest by their determined opposition to the exclusion of Scripture reading and other devotional exercises from the school-room.

"The State school is non-religious; ignores religion. There is and there can be no positive religious teachings where the principle of non-sectarianism rules. It follows then that the child will grow up in the belief that religion is of minor importance, and religious indifference will be his creed. You say the school teaches morals, but morals without religious principles do not exist. Secu-

larists and unbelievers will interpose their rights. Again there are differences among Christians. Catholics would not inflict their beliefs upon Protestants, nor should Protestantism be inflicted upon Catholic children.

"Some compromise becomes necessary. Taxation without representation is wrong, and while the minority pays school taxes, its beliefs should be respected. America is trying to divorce religion and the school, although religion pervades our systems and the school was originally religious through and through. As a solution of the difficulty, I would permeate the regular State school with the religion of the majority of the land, be it as Protestant as Protestantism can be, and I would do as they do in England—pay for the secular instruction given in denominational schools according to results; that is, each pupil passing the examination before State officials and in full accordance with the State program."

Catholic as well as non-Catholic criticism was now showered upon Archbishop Ireland so copiously that Rome asked Gibbons to report on the subject. In an exchange of letters with Ireland, he learned thoroughly that prelate's views as well as the steps that had been taken at Faribault and Stillwater. These investigations and a study of the Archbishop's speech convinced him that Ireland had done nothing to compromise the Church's view on schools. He wrote in his journal December 30, 1890:

"I sent the Holy Father a reply to a letter of November 24, from the Cardinal Secretary of State (Rampolla) written in the Pope's name, in which my opinion was asked about the soundness of Archbishop Ireland's discourse at the Public School Convention held in St. Paul, July 10. My reply covering ten pages of large letter

paper is a full vindication of the Archbishop. I also sent a French translation of the Archbishop's address and wrote a brief letter to Cardinal Rampolla and to Dr. O'Connell, to whom I enclosed the other letters."

Gibbons wrote to Monsignor O'Connell:

"BALTIMORE, September 10, 1890.

"RIGHT REV. DEAR FRIEND:

"Archbishop Ireland has been severely handled by some of the Catholic papers on account of his address on the school question. I hope it will not hurt him in Rome. He is really a power here, and has more public influence than half a dozen of his neighbors. Such a man should not be under a cloud. . . .

"The Archbishop was writing for his own section of the country, with which he is better acquainted than any other prelate could be. He was simply throwing out suggestions for effecting some *modus vivendi* between the Catholics and the public schools. The most liberal terms he proposed would secure for the Catholic children attending in some places the public schools in large numbers a Catholic education which is now denied them in the public schools. . . .

"There is no prelate in the United States who has done more to elevate and advance the Catholic religion here than Archbishop Ireland. He is honored and admired by the whole community. Protestants regard him as a fearless and uncompromising advocate of the Catholic faith, and Catholics venerate him as a grand and eloquent exponent of their religion. They almost idolize him. The circulation of even a rumor here to the effect that the Archbishop's course was disproved by the Holy See, or that he did not enjoy the entire confidence of the Propaganda, or that he was under a cloud, would do immense mischief to religion, would discourage and dampen

the ardent zeal of the Archbishop in evangelizing the West (as he is doing); would elate our enemies, and sadden the hearts of the great Catholic body.

"The representations against the Archbishop were doubtless made by parties who are narrow and who do not understand the country in which they live. . . . Had he been a dumb dog, no whelp would have barked at him here.

"I am saddened at the thought that such a man should suffer from irreverent tongues, and I am sure that my sadness, if the cause were known, would be shared by nearly the entire episcopate, who are justly proud of their colleague.

"Faithfully yours in Christ,

"J. CARDINAL GIBBONS."

Gibbons called the Archbishops together to consider the subject when they assembled in St. Louis in 1891 at the celebration of Archbishop Kenrick's episcopal jubilee. He presided over the meeting and asked Archbishop Ireland to explain in detail the plan in regard to a school settlement which he had put in operation in his diocese. Ireland faced the inquiry with the utmost frankness. He told his brother prelates that he was happy to submit his action to their cognizance, and was ready to retrace his steps if they thought that he had passed the limits of right and prudence. He set forth in detail the agreement between himself and the school commissioners of Faribault and Stillwater, as follows:

"1. The school buildings remain the property of the parish. They are leased to the school commissioners during the school hours only—that is, from 9 A. M. to 3.45 P. M. Outside these hours they are at the sole dis-

posal of the parish; the pastor and the Sisters who teach can hold in them such exercises as they deem proper. The lease is for one year only; at the end of the year, the Archbishop may renew the lease or resume the exclusive control of the buildings.

"2. The teachers must hold diplomas from the State, and the progress of the pupils is determined, as to the various branches of profane learning, by parochial examinations held in conformity with official requirements. The class rooms have been furnished and are kept by the school commission, and the Sisters receive the same salaries as are paid to the ordinary teachers.

"3. During school hours, the Sisters give no religious instruction; but as they are not only Catholics, but also members of a religious order, they wear their religious habits, and do not alter their teachings in any respect. The schools, although under the control of the State, are, in respect to instruction, precisely what they were before the arrangement was made. The Sisters teach the catechism after school hours, in such a way that the pupils notice merely a change from one lesson to another. Besides, at 8.30 A. M., that is, before the regular school hour, the children attend Mass; and on Sundays, the school buildings are at the exclusive disposition of the parish.

"4. The public schools are scattered in various parts of Minnesota cities, and children are required to attend the school in the district wherein they live. Faribault and Stillwater are excepted from this rule. Catholic children can attend the schools in question from all parts of the cities; the Protestant children living in the districts where our schools are situated may do so, but are not obliged. The result is that almost all the Catholic children of the two cities attend these schools, whereas there are very few Protestants, and the influence is almost wholly Catholic." [3]

[3] Official report of the meeting of Archbishops to Leo XIII.

The subject was thus clarified, and some of the Archbishops who had not studied the question thoroughly were surprised to find how little basis there had been for the furious dispute. Several of them explicitly approved Ireland's course, and not one offered a word of blame. Archbishop Williams, of Boston, went so far as to say that he congratulated Ireland on the results obtained; that his own wish was to submit the schools of his diocese to a similar arrangement; and that he hoped to succeed, at least as to some of them.

The subject was generally discussed at the meeting and the points were brought out that the teachers at Faribault and Stillwater received more nearly adequate pay than the parishes could afford to give; that Catholics had no longer to pay the double tax for the public school and the parochial school; and that the pastor was relieved of anxiety in obtaining the necessary money to carry on the schools.

It appeared to be clear to all of the Archbishops that in placing the two schools under the school boards, which were only municipal organizations, Ireland did not intend to invalidate the principle of the parochial school. His aim was to save two schools which had been perishing, and to obtain for the large number of Catholic children in Faribault and Stillwater the religious influences which had been lacking in the public schools.

As the plan was weighed in council, the Archbishops were interested to observe that Ireland had not even made an innovation. Other schools were then operated on plans almost exactly similar in the dioceses of New York,

Albany, Buffalo, Rochester, Harrisburg, Erie, Peoria, Milwaukee and Savannah.

"No one," Cardinal Gibbons remarked, "had dreamed of raising objections and of accusing the priests of those dioceses of unfaithfulness to their mission and of treason to the Church; but passions were stirred the instant Monsignor Ireland acted."

Fully sustained by his brethren of the Hierarchy in America, and confident of the powerful aid of his friend and leader, Gibbons, Ireland resolved to carry his case to Rome, in order that the voice of his enemies might be hushed completely. Leaving St. Paul in January, 1892, he prosecuted his mission with signal success in the Eternal City, backed by Gibbons, and winning every point for which he contended.

The entry is found in the Cardinal's journal:

"March 1 [1892]. Wrote to the Pope today commending the course of Archbishop Ireland in the Faribault school contract, and animadverting on the bitterness of his enemies."

At a special congregation of the Propaganda held April 21 of that year the following decision was reached:

"Without derogating from the decrees of the councils of Baltimore on parochial schools, the arrangement entered into by Archbishop Ireland concerning the schools at Faribault and Stillwater, taking into consideration all the circumstances, can be tolerated."

The Pope approved this action in an audience held the same day. In July Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of

the Propaganda, addressed a letter to Cardinal Gibbons advising that the American Archbishops at their next meeting search with care for a means of supplying the religious needs of Catholic children who, outside the system of the parochial schools, frequented the public schools in great numbers.[4]

Gibbons summoned the Archbishops to meet in New York November 17, 1892, when Satolli, who had recently arrived in this country, was able to speak to them with authority as Papal Delegate regarding the general lines for working out a solution of the school question. Satolli, who, with customary thoroughness, had made a study of the whole subject, outlined fourteen propositions, all of which were based upon the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which in this controversy, as in others, triumphantly withstood the tests of time and circumstance. From these decrees he quoted the declarations that ample care must be taken to erect Catholic schools, to enlarge and improve those already established, and to make them equal to the public schools in teaching and in discipline. He also cited the refusal of the Council to condemn persons who sent their children to the public schools, saying:

"The Catholic Church in general, and especially the Holy See, far from condemning or treating with indifference the public schools, desires rather that, by the joint action of civil and ecclesiastical authorities, there should be public schools in every State as the circumstances of the people require for the cultivation of the useful arts and the natural sciences; but the Catholic Church shrinks from those features of public schools

[4] Archives of the Baltimore Cathedral.

which are opposed to the truths of Christianity and to morality; and since in the interest of society itself, these objectionable features are removable, therefore not only the Bishops, but the citizens at large, should labor to remove them in virtue of their own right and in the cause of morality."

The Archbishop set forth that public schools bore within themselves approximate danger to faith and morals, because in them a purely secular education was given, and also because the teachers were chosen indiscriminately from every sect "and no law prevents them from working the ruin of youth in tender minds." He also considered it a serious objection that in many such schools children of both sexes were brought together for their lessons in the same room.

Satolli was careful to point out that his warnings were based entirely upon the necessity of the religious training of youth, and not upon opposition to a plan under any specific name. He said:

"If it be clear that in a given locality, owing to the wise dispositions of public authorities, or to the watchful prudence of school boards, teachers and parents, the above dangers to faith and morals disappear, then it is lawful for Catholic parents to send their children to these schools to acquire the elements of letters and arts, providing the parents themselves do not neglect their most serious duty, and the pastors of souls put forth every effort to instruct the children and train them in all that pertains to Catholic worship and life."

The Papal Delegate, touching on the Faribault plan, said that he would greatly desire, and that it would be a most happy arrangement, for the Bishops to agree with

the civil authorities or with the members of school boards to conduct the schools with mutual attention and due consideration for their respective rights. He put stress upon his admonition that steps be taken to raise the standard of instruction in Catholic schools, and that normal schools be established for the preparation of Catholic teachers.[5]

Satolli's declaration fully met the views of the Archbishops, and they closed their sessions with an expression of satisfaction with the way in which he had fulfilled his mission. After the meeting, Leo, watchful lest some pretext might remain for a renewal of the controversy in an unexpected quarter, took the additional precaution to obtain from each of them a private letter fully opening his mind on the subject. These letters convinced him that there was still a doubt on the part of some as to whether the decrees of the Third Plenary Council had not been abrogated in part by the Delegate's interpretation. The exercise of final authority in the decision of the controversy seemed to him to be necessary; and he addressed a letter to Cardinal Gibbons which clarified every point of doubt that appeared to remain.

The Pope commended Satolli's declarations, saying:

"The principal propositions offered by him were drawn from the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore; and especially declare that Catholic schools are to be most sedulously promoted, and that it has been left to the judgment and conscience of the Ordinary to decide according to the circumstances when it is lawful, and when unlawful to attend the public schools."

The decrees of the Council of Baltimore on the school

[5] Satolli, *Loyalty to Church and State*, p. 27 *et seq.*

question, the Pope set forth, were to be faithfully observed so far as they contained a general rule of action. Every endeavor must be made to multiply the Catholic schools and to raise their standards and equipment; but the public schools were not to be entirely condemned, since cases might occur, as the Council itself had foreseen, in which it was permissible to attend them. The Pope continued:

"Wherefore, we confidently hope (and your devotedness to us and to the Apostolic See increases our confidence) that, having put away every cause of error and all anxiety, you will work together, with hearts united and with perfect charity, for the wider and wider spread of the Kingdom of God in your immense country. But, while industriously laboring for the glory of God and the salvation of the souls entrusted to your care, strive also to promote the welfare of your fellow-citizens and to prove the earnestness of your love for your country, so that they who are entrusted with the administration of the government may clearly recognize how strong an influence for the support of public order and for the advancement of public prosperity is to be found in the Catholic Church.

"And as to yourself, beloved son, we know for certain that you will not only communicate to our other venerable brethren in the United States this our mind, which it hath seemed good to us to make known to you, but that you will also strive with all your power that, the controversy being not only calmed, but totally ended, as is so greatly to be desired, the minds which have been excited by it may peacefully be united in mutual goodwill." [6]

[6] Letter of Leo XIII to Cardinal Gibbons May 31, 1893 (Cathedral Archives, Baltimore).

The controversy was thus closed. The Bishops were convinced that the opportunity before them was to increase the number of parochial schools and to improve their equipment. New energies toward that end were put forth in every diocese; the attacks which had centered upon Archbishop Ireland and his experiments in Minnesota subsided. Satolli, the warm friend of Gibbons and of Ireland, lost no opportunity of defending the motives and prudence of both.

Gibbons wrote to Archbishop Corrigan:

"BALTIMORE, May 18, 1892.

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP:

"My attention was called to a dispatch from Baltimore dated May 1st and published on the 14th in the New York *Sun*, stating that while I refused to be interviewed, I differed with your Grace in my interpretation of the Roman decision regarding the Faribault case. The truth is that, while I candidly believe that the decision sustains Archbishop Ireland, I refused to be interviewed at all on the subject. . . .

"Whatever difference may have existed among us, we are all, I am sure, animated by the purest motives of zeal for the education of our youth. May the Lord grant us peace and mutual love now that the matter is settled.

"Faithfully yours in Christ,

"J. CARDINAL GIBBONS."

The one instance in the United States in which the public authorities had sanctioned contract arrangements with religious bodies for instruction was in regard to the Indian schools. Gibbons had been a zealous champion of this plan, and when an assault upon it was begun about the time when the discussion over the Faribault ques-

tion was most acute, he girded himself for defense. When President Grant, deciding that it was "better to Christianize than to kill" inaugurated his "peace policy" toward the Indians,[7] the Catholic Church and Protestant denominations were urged to maintain schools on the reservations, the teachers and other employees, though in effect appointed by the various religious bodies, being put on the government payroll. Later the practise was adopted of making formal contracts with church organizations conducting schools for the tuition and support of Indian pupils who could be induced to attend them.

Under this program the government appropriations to Catholic Indian mission schools reached a maximum of $397,756 in 1892. The schools multiplied greatly with the strong support of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, which had been originated in 1874 by Gibbons' predecessor, Bayley. The heirs of Francis A. Drexel, of Philadelphia, gave largely from their wealth to the cause, and one of them, Mother M. Katherine Drexel, consecrated her life to the welfare of the Indians and negroes, founding for their especial benefit the missionary congregation of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.[8]

In the arousing of hostile public sentiment regarding religious teaching of the Indians in government schools, strong pressure was exerted on Congress by the "American Protective Association" to abolish all aid to sectarian schools. That organization was able at one time to command considerable political influence, which had its effect

[7] Coolidge, *Ulysses S. Grant,* pp. 404–05.

[8] *"Our Catholic Indian Missions,"* a paper read before the Catholic Missionary Congress in Chicago, November 16, 1898, by the Rev. William H. Ketcham, director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.

at Washington. Congress began in 1895 to curtail the appropriations for the contract schools, and two years later [9] declared it to be the settled policy of the government "to make hereafter no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school." In 1900 it made what it termed the "final appropriation" for this purpose. The Catholic Bureau, thus deprived of the largest part of the funds which had sustained it, was unwilling to abandon its promising work among the Indians. It continued to support schools for them by means of funds obtained largely through Lenten collections in churches, and the generosity of Mother Drexel.

Gibbons felt that a serious injustice had been done to the Indians, and determined not to accept defeat in the plans of the Church for their welfare. The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was incorporated in 1894, and two years later he was elected its president, which office he continued long to hold. So strongly did he feel on the question that, reluctant though he was to participate in a direct appeal for legislation, he addressed a petition to Congress December 5, 1898, in behalf of himself and the other Archbishops of the United States, urging that the contract school question be reopened, and that an inquiry regarding the whole subject of Indian education should be made by Congress. An impartial investigation, he held, would show the benefits of Catholic Indian education so clearly that the political clouds which had obscured the merits of the question would be removed. The system of religious teaching, he declared, was an essential element in the solution of the Indian problem—a system

[9] Act of June 7, 1897.

which could not be called sectarian, and yet actually put the spirit of Christianity into the work of the government and enabled it to use that indispensable factor in the endeavor to elevate the Indians. He set forth an outline of the work which the Church had undertaken for them, the obstacles which it had encountered, and the important successes which had been won, adding:

"Certainly we are justified in saying that the well-informed on the subject cannot escape the conclusion that the mission school is better adapted to the civilization of the Indian than any other. In the mission school are engaged men and women set apart for its special work; men and women who, through noble inspiration, have chosen this field in which to do lifework in the cause of humanity and to the glory of God. They are selected for the work by the several denominations employing them, not only because of their scholastic attainments, but also because their devotion to the Christian religion has been evidenced by the purity of their lives."

Even though the congressional appropriations were withdrawn, Gibbons took the view that appropriations for the contract schools could still be made out of the tribal funds of the Indians, which were their own property and not public money of the United States. President Roosevelt accepted this solution after obtaining from the Attorney General an opinion that it was legally sound. He sanctioned new contracts in cases where the Indians expressed the wish by petition to have a portion of their funds so used.

The storm of opposition sprang up anew, and a demand was made upon Congress for legislation prohibiting the use of tribal funds for the support of any religious

school. By this time, however, the influence of the "A. P. A." had waned, and Congress refused to be swayed by the pressure which the remnant of that organization put forth.

The course of President Roosevelt was fully sustained by a decision of the United States Supreme Court.[10] Congress went further and ordered a resumption of the distribution of rations to the children in mission schools, which had been withheld by the Indian office for five years. Thus the Bureau of Indian Missions, with the active support of Gibbons, was enabled to make a new start, and to prosecute once more with vigor a work which had seemed at one time to be doomed to extinction.

Among Americans of his time no one showed greater solicitude for justice and benevolence toward the Indians than Gibbons, nor devoted more consistent and effective efforts in that direction. His unflagging interest in the subject was a stimulus to all those in the Church who were engaged in missionary work among the tribes. It seemed to him to be unworthy of America, after the Indians had parted from their old religious creed, to leave them adrift without any creed. Religion, even more than education, he felt, was necessary to enable them to work out a peaceful destiny in the country which their ancestors had owned. He conceded to all denominations equal rights in the field of missionary labor; but the thought was abhorrent to him that the light of Christianity might be shut off from the school rooms in which the young Indians received from the white race the instruction which guided them on the threshold of life.

[10] May 18, 1908.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICANISM

Unwearied with the combats which had marked his first few stormy years as Cardinal, the champion of the Catholic Church in America and the champion of America in the Catholic Church now faced his greatest battle. It called for all his resources of skill, all the determination and courage which were so strong in him when aroused. After years of strife, he won a sweeping victory, overthrowing the well-planned and powerfully supported effort to introduce foreign influences in the Church here which developed to wide proportions from the Cahensly agitation. This victory was achieved at a time when nationalist influences from abroad, which enlisted strong support from foreign elements in this country, were gathering impetus that might have paralyzed the arm of America in the World War which was to come had they not been checked.

Had the bold and clear reach of Gibbons' vision been unproven except for this, the proof would have been enough. In less than two decades the nation was racked with alarm lest jarring elements introduced by immigration should cripple her when she was called to the conflict in which civilization was engulfed; that she was not thus thwarted in her national destiny was due, in great part, to influences which Gibbons had set in mo-

tion long before, and which produced the effect that he had foreseen with inspiration nothing short of prophetic.

The issue came to be known as Americanism when the conflict was at its height in the years 1890-93. Its origin was in the "Cahensly question," so called from Peter Cahensly, a German, the secretary of the Archangel Raphael Society for the protection of German emigrants. In its beginnings that society had as its purpose only the laudable one of promoting the spiritual welfare of settlers in foreign countries; but fears quickly arose when it broadened its scope, as Pan-German influences took possession of it, to include the preservation of the nationality and language of those who emigrated from Europe. Its larger policies and efforts soon came to reflect the militant Teutonic spirit which was then beginning to sweep like a great gust through the German and Austrian empires and out into the United States, Brazil, Argentina and every other country where Germans went from native town or farm to begin life anew, or to expand the vast trade that streamed from German factories. Germans were pouring at the rate of 400,000 a year into the Americas, Africa and even Asia.

The world, which learned at the cost of the greatest war men ever fought the meaning and power of Pan-Germanism, was oblivious of or indifferent to its potency in 1890. Beneath its professed object of spreading and consolidating everywhere Teutonic ideals of character and culture, most observers discerned but dimly the commercial ends that were sought by its leaders and gave scarcely a thought to the political ends. Least of all was there serious disquietude in the United States, whose

people cherished a serene reliance upon their powers of national assimilation, believing that the tide of immigration, high as it was, would soon be lost in the placid waters of American unity.

Though Germans were the originators of the Cahensly movement, its daring captains seized the opportunity to promote their ends by alliances with Italians, Poles, Frenchmen and other elements in the national groups that were flocking to America. These efforts, misunderstood in their full bearing outside of Germany, were by no means lacking in substantial success. In Italy the Marchese Volpi Landi championed the cause, and in France strong support in leadership was obtained from Abbé Villeneuve.

Organizations of German immigrants or their immediate descendants were then thickly scattered throughout the cities and towns of the United States, and were multiplying as new hundreds of thousands from their fatherland swept in each year with the flow of immigration. They gave strong support to the religious and charitable objects which the Cahenslyites set forth as the chief causes of their solicitude.

The Catholic Church was now the spiritual mother of by far the greater number of the newcomers from continental Europe. There had been an abatement in the Lutheran exodus from Prussia, and most of the Germans who were arriving were from the Rhineland, Bavaria, Württemberg and other portions of the Empire of the Kaiser in which the Catholic Church was strongest numerically. Cahenslyism, founded in close alliance with Church influences in Germany, had recruited active and

widespread support from clergy in that country, the mass of whom were moved by the appeal to their natural sympathies in behalf of persons facing the hazards of life in distant countries, and were unaware of the sinister propaganda of international politics which was masked beneath the cloak of disinterested help.

The need of exceptional means to provide spiritual care for the immigrants had been fully realized by the Church in America, and the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore had made provisions for it which had been carried out with vigilance. As soon as immigrants arrived they were sought out by priests in the parishes where they happened to go and who spoke their own languages. They were quickly absorbed in existing parishes, or new ones were erected, where, during the early period of their residence in America, they might receive the ministrations of the Church in their own tongues and send their children to schools where the common speech would be that with which they were familiar.

As they showed a disposition to align themselves with other parishes in which the language used was English, and as their improvement in material means caused them to change to different homes, many of them lost identification with purely foreign groupings. In some dioceses where the number of priests and parishioners of foreign birth was unusually large, however, little or no inclination was shown to divert the immigrants to English speaking parishes; in certain jurisdictions, indeed, the disposition was to preserve their national alignments and distinctions of language as long as possible. There being no rigid rule to follow in regard to this, the result was

that when immigration approached the rate of 1,000,000 a year many hundreds of new parishes sprang up in the United States in which the language used in church was German, Polish, Italian or some other than English.

Emboldened by success, the Cahenslyites at an international congress held at Lucerne in December, 1890, decided to address a memorial to the Holy See appealing in behalf of their cause. The memorial began by emphasizing one of their much favored arguments, that the losses which the Church had sustained in the United States amounted to more than 10,000,000, caused by immigrants and their descendants falling away from the faith, notwithstanding the fact that Gibbons and other American prelates rejected this statement as a gross exaggeration. As a remedy, the society proposed the systematic formation of immigrants into separate parishes, congregations or missions according to nationality and that the direction of these parishes should be confided to priests of the same nationalities. "In this wise," the memorial set forth, "the sweetest and most cherished relations of the fatherland would be constantly brought to the emigrants, who would love the Church all the more for procuring for them these benefits."

In parts of the country where immigrants of different nationalities had settled in numbers too limited to form a separate parish for each group, the memorial asked that priests should be appointed for the care of groups who would use in their ministrations the distinctive tongues to which the parishioners had been accustomed. One of the most urgent recommendations was that ample provision be made that in parochial schools the instruction be

given in the native languages of the parents. The organization of Catholic societies founded upon nationality was advised. There were already many such.

The main demand of those in America, as well as in Europe, who led the Cahensly movement, was that Bishops be appointed by nationalities according to population; if, for instance, the Germans formed one sixth of the Catholic population, it was desired that one sixth of the Bishops should be chosen from those who spoke the German language and would use it in the transaction of their official duties. The memorial summed up the matter in this wise:

"It would be most desirable that, as often as might be judged feasible, the Catholics of every nationality should have in the episcopate of the country to which they have emigrated some Bishops of their own race. It seems that such an organization of the Church would be perfect. Every different nationality of emigrants would be represented, and their respective interests and needs protected or cared for at the meeting of the Bishops in council."

In conclusion, the memorial besought special protection for the seminaries and other schools that had been instituted in Europe for the education of missionaries to work among the emigrants. Special favor for the Archangel Raphael Society was invoked, and the Pope was urged to appoint a Cardinal Protector as a guardian for it.[1]

This was followed by another memorial presented by

[1] Reily, *Collections in the Life and Times of Cardinal Gibbons*, Vol. III, Part 3, pp. 7–9.

the Archangel Raphael Society to Leo XIII in June, 1891, setting forth the demands of the Cahensly element with even more vigor and with considerable amplification of argument. It was declared that "the current which is carrying away to America populations of different nationalities is already formidable; in the future it is likely to become irresistible." Statistics were presented purportng to show that 439,400 Catholics had left Europe for the American continent in the year 1889, and that of these 178,900 had gone to the United States.

With a touch of exaggeration not unusual in various processes of estimating elements of foreign nationality in America, it was declared that calculations based upon authoritative statistics showed that Catholic immigrants and their children ought to constitute in the country a population of 26,000,000, though the number of Catholics in the United States did not then much exceed 10,000,000. "Catholicity, therefore," the memorial set forth, "has sustained up to the present date a loss of 16,000,000 in the great American republic."

Causes for the desertion of their faith by Catholics were thus enumerated: Lack of adequate protection for the immigrants during their voyages and on their arrival in the United States; insufficiency of priests and parishes of their own nationalities; pecuniary sacrifices—"often exorbitant"—that were exacted of the faithful; the public schools; insufficiency of Catholic societies based upon nationality and language, and lack of representation for different nationalities of immigrants in the episcopate. The novel view was set forth that immigrants who forgot their native languages also forgot their

religion. Regarding the all-important question of Bishops, the memorial declared:

"Bishops who are strangers to the spirit, character, habits and customs of other nations cannot in the required measure, despite their virtues, knowledge and zeal, appreciate and effectually attend to the wants of these nations. Again, the harmony and concord between the different nationalities are affected. If the episcopate be handed over almost exclusively to one nationality to the detriment of others, a feeling of uneasiness, of general discontent is created among these last—a feeling which assumes the proportion of disastrous international rivalries. It is desired that concord and harmony should reign among the different nations that go to make up the Church in the United States. Nothing is more desirable; nothing more essential. The only way to attain this end is to give to every one of these nations Bishops of their own, who will represent their respective nations in the episcopal body, just as those nations are represented among the parochial clergy and among the faithful." [2]

As early as 1884, before Gibbons had been elevated to the cardinalate, the subject of Church care for the immigrants arriving in this country had been much discussed at Rome. This is indicated by an entry in his journal as follows:

"April 4 [1884]. I wrote to Cardinal Simeoni, in reply to his letter asking what was the best means to be employed in bettering the moral and material condition of emigrants coming to this country. Many emigrants, especially French and Italian, suffer from ignorance of

[2] Reily, Vol. III, Part 3, pp. 9–13.

our language, but they have always the means of improving their condition if they are industrious. Their spiritual wants are now better provided for than formerly, owing to increase of churches and priests. I will refer his letter to the Council" [The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore].

In the swelling volume of their public agitation, as well as in their pleas to Rome, the Cahenslyites were careful to base their main arguments upon the need of special spiritual care for immigrants, which no one in the Church was disposed to deny. But the only way to justify their general program, which reached far beyond that, was to justify the rending of America into different language groups, such as existed in the Austrian empire as then constituted.

One of the main concerns of each group, if the Cahensly basis of representation in the Hierarchy were adopted, would inevitably be to preserve a tireless vigilance that would assure the selection of a number of Bishops adequate to the supposed strength of each element. Thus the primary question when a Bishop was to be appointed would be his language and perhaps the vehemence with which he stood for all the varied and perhaps conflicting aspirations of his national group, i. e., with which he stood in the way of the Americanization of foreigners. This would lead to popular agitation over the selection of Bishops, a thing which Rome had never countenanced and could not be induced to countenance.

Gibbons believed that in the episcopate nationalist Bishops, if appointed, would tend to form groups which would of necessity be more or less antagonistic to the

American Bishops. This would produce endless discord and arrest the growth of the Church.

In its wider aspects he regarded the whole movement as an open conflict with the general plan of American assimilation of foreigners. He had a deep conviction, which he freely expressed, that America could settle her own internal problems as they arose, including the problem of constitutional evolution, if her national destiny were not diverted from the path on which she had set out. The danger of the introduction of foreign influences from the unprecedented flow of immigrants who arrived in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and up to the time of the World War, he regarded as one of most ominous potentiality as a possible cause of such diversion. No other nation had ever assimilated such a mass, and he was well aware that in the past the tendency of such movements, even on a scale less imposing in numbers, had been to submerge the people into which the new waves swept.

None deplored more than he the introduction, so far as it had already gone, of foreign nationalism into American politics, and he was resolved that no influence of his own should be wanting to resist that tendency. Class voting of any kind seemed to him to be the negation of everything American. He considered that the national safety was directly dependent upon the citizen casting his ballot swayed by regard for the greatest good to the greatest number, and ignoring class interests; even more, that the citizen must be ready at times to sacrifice his personal interests for the general benefit and, above all, for principle.

A broad nationalist at heart, he wished loyalty to America to be the same in Oregon and in Florida—wherever the flag floated. He knew that the peoples crowding in from abroad were bringing different political ideas, some of them grotesque, others full of harm, born of class hate or of shallow and impractical theories. The tenacious possession of these jarring and destructive views, proceeding from lack of experience or imperfect experience in democratic government by peoples of continental Europe, appeared to him to contain possibilities of evil, of which the American people should be especially watchful.

He was determined that the Church in this country should continue homogeneous, like the nation. If the discord of rival nationalist aims were definitely introduced, his work would go down in wreck. He was firmly convinced that nationalist groups in the Church would tend to become political elements. Factions would entangle her in whatever direction she might turn. The defeated side in a contest over a bishopric for a foreign constituency would be resentful and might resort to reprisals, perhaps by combination with a different group. The American Bishops would thus be beset with pleas and harassed by pressure to align themselves with one group or another, and complications all but insoluble might ensue.

One of the stanchest convictions to which he adhered throughout his life was that homogeneity in America was a fundamental need in the absence of a repressive government which might maintain unity by force. A democratic régime could not be permanent when racked by

ceaseless discord proceeding from causes other than differences of view upon legitimate subjects of legislation and general policy. No one welcomed immigrants here more warmly than he did, and he went on record in a letter which was presented to Congress against excluding aliens who were not able to read and write. He welcomed, however, only those who were willing to become Americans. Those who cherished a secret hope or aim of upsetting the government, or crowding it out of its natural line of evolution, were out of place here.

A long-time student of the Constitution and of the debates which had marked its birth in 1787, Gibbons held a deep conviction that it was based upon the soundest of views and upon matured political experience. On one occasion, he said that if he had the privilege of modifying the Constitution he would not expunge or alter a single word of it.[3] Realizing that there had been periods when it had undergone severe tests, and even when large numbers of his fellow-countrymen had been disposed to doubt the permanency of its value, he felt that it had been conceived with great insight into the future, and that the stability of the country was bound up with its continued existence, unchanged in essentials. That the blessings which it had brought—greater blessings, to his mind, than had flowed from any other political instrument of modern times—should be lost or even imperiled by a sudden wave of immigration was an abhorrent thought to him.

American liberty was the offset to the confusion of political ideas which the immigrants were bringing, no

[3] Sermon at the Catholic University, January, 1897.

less marked than the confusion of their tongues. They must receive an opportunity to understand America before they passed sweeping judgment upon the merits or demerits of its system of government. Many evils which they had resented abroad did not exist here, but having been accustomed to them in their former homes, comprehension broke upon them slowly that the same evils were absent in the new country to which they had come.

Gibbons regarded conditions in many parts of Europe at that time as distinctly unstable, or possessing the seeds of instability. He would resist the transplanting of such seeds to these shores. His faith was unshaken that America, for all the looseness of government which European critics saw exemplified here, could withstand a shock which would rend almost any nation of Europe. The State system he regarded as providential, although well aware that it was based upon historical causes which antedated the Revolution, and that it was incorporated into the Constitution from the impact of political necessity. He expressed the view that the States were like the compartments of a ship, assuring safety in storms; for even though one or more of them might become impaired, the ship would not sink.

Knowing well the purposes of Leo XIII, he felt assured from the beginning that Rome would countenance no assault, open or covert, upon the system of government in America. Leo had not only recognized the liberality of the political institutions here, but had welcomed the great benefits which the Catholic Church derived from them. True, like other doctors of the Church holding the ancient faith, he did not teach that the status

of the Church here was the most desirable for every country, and in his encyclical letter on "Catholicity in the United States," declared that it would be "very erroneous" to draw the conclusion that "it would be universally lawful or expedient for State and Church to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced. . . . She would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority." [4] This was far from saying that he had any aim to disturb the system in existence here, for throughout his Pontificate he gave no sign of such an aim.

It would have crushed Gibbons if, while the Church was advancing so fast in America, she had been diverted into side paths from her journey on the main road. Harmony was essential to her, and never more so than at that period; Cahenslyism meant a direct assault on that harmony. The constant rivalries which it invited would beget new ones. Never were Bishops in this country more harmonious than during the long period of Gibbons' cardinalate. The great majority of them not only upheld his policies, but followed his lead with an enthusiasm comparable to that with which the marshals of the first French empire followed their chief.

The political authorities of the United States were full of misgivings over the progress of the Cahensly agitation, and Gibbons was distressed to observe that they saw a disconcerting problem for the State which originated with the Church. To his mind, the problem was in its essence substantially the same for both. If some permanent force were to be set up that would arrest the

[4] Wynne, *The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII*, pp. 323–324.

assimilation of the immigrants who were then arriving in such great numbers, every political party would be at the mercy of such elements, as well as the government of the Church. If she, as the one influence whose weight was decisive with the largest group of them, cooperated in their Americanization, they would be Americanized; if she did not, the prospect would be dark indeed.

All the patriotic professions of Gibbons, Ireland, Ryan, Williams and other leaders of the Hierarchy in those days were being weighed in the balance. They could not submit to being convicted of impotency in deeds when their words were put to the test. Their backs were to the wall. They must fight for Church and country as they had fought before. They could not contemplate an America that would be a suzerain of warring clans, inflamed by jealousies that would tend to disrupt the Church government, as well as the civil government. The peace and unity of one were the peace and unity of the other. What the Cahenslyites would sow, they would reap. The Church could not hope to gather figs from thistles.

Gibbons greatly deprecated the traces of direct nationalist enmities which crept into the controversy. He wished the debate to proceed along the lines of affirmative argument, rather than negative; he wished it to be constructive, and deplored that at times it tended to become destructive. As he never spoke in reproach of non-Catholics, least of all did he wish to speak in reproach of elements within the Church.

It was only natural that some of his lieutenants were not able to exemplify at all times the exceptional breadth

of their leader's charity. Charges and counter-charges were made and answered and the recriminations were a foretaste of what Cahenslyism might bring. A multitude of animosities awoke which Gibbons had wished to remain in perpetual somnolence.

Leaders on both sides were soon conducting rival campaigns in Rome. As the stronghold of Cahenslyism was in Europe, that cause naturally had a larger continuous representation at the seat of the Church's government than its pronounced foes. Its defenders included men of ability, skill and diplomatic tact, who left no method untried in the pursuit of the object for which they had resolutely set out.

Their nationalist aims were kept in the background as far as they could do so. It seems clear that these aims were not known at first by the Cardinals in Rome whom they tried to win over to their side; certainly not by most of the European priests whom they persuaded to lend help to them. Only the World War disclosed these influences fully, but Gibbons' acts and words left no doubt that he saw them in advance.

The question arises, in view of the unmasking of international intrigue in the World War, was not the Cahensly movement craftily fomented by the German secret propaganda service? It was easy to defend in 1890 by appealing to general sympathy for immigrants. Many persons of German birth had no idea that it served political ends, or even that it could be made to do so. The American government and people passed decisive judgment in the great war that the persistence of nationalist groupings disturbed the unity of the United States by

leading to the formation of opinion on American questions from the background of European predilections or antipathies.

It was not true that the mass of Germans or of any other foreign nationality in America was included in the Cahensly movement. Many of these were distinctly opposed to it, wishing to cast their lot unreservedly with the country of their adoption; it is probably true that most of them were wholly indifferent to the subject, though many of their leaders were active, and in not a few cases aggressive in the cause.

The press in Germany became aroused on the issue, whether or not from government inspiration is unknown. A correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* interviewed Gibbons in Baltimore, and to him the American prelate spoke firmly and clearly, saying:

"Some people in America and elsewhere seem not to understand that the Americans are striving for developing into one great nationality; just as Germany has developed into one national union by a struggle of many years' duration, so we are striving in the States for a certain homegeneity whose outward expression consists in the possession of one common language, the English. This explains the propaganda for one language, the English tongue, in the Catholic Church of North America.

"There is no thought of violating the love of the old fatherland—a sacred feeling. The Germans in America are handicapped; without the knowledge of English, they are socially at a disadvantage; only in agricultural centers the German is preserved pure. The Germans are shining examples of industry, energy, love of home, conservatism, and attachment to their religion. They are beginning to comprehend that it is impossible to stem the

course of natural evolution. For some time I have been in possession of petitions from German clergymen desiring the introduction of the English language.

"The transition from German to English will necessarily be gradual, and in accordance with the wishes and needs of the people concerned. What Germany herself does in this respect to solidify her union by a common language, no German will think wrong when applied in advancing the homogeneity of the people of the United States."

Gibbons was moved the more profoundly in regard to Cahenslyism because he knew the real thought in the minds of many non-Catholic Americans that impeded the progress of the Church more than any other thought. As this thought found voice from those who held it, or remained unspoken and dormant, it was that the purposes of the Church were anti-American or at best international; and that some of these purposes were political. He had thrown himself without reserve into a battle of years to dispel this impression, which he rejected from the depths of his soul as a cruel error. If he could not stifle it, if he could not prove it false, he felt that he would be remiss in his duty to God and country. The greatest advances which he had made had been against this powerful salient in the fortress of opposition.

His was never a passive character. Motion, progress, accomplishment were the breath of life to him. If he could not stand still, least of all would or could he go backward. To have color lent to the view that foreign influences were active in the Church, except in the universal sense of a world-wide unity of faith, would have

broken his highest hopes, and this appeared to him to be the real result toward which Cahenslyism was heedlessly rushing. Masked under the appealing guise of solicitude for the religious needs of immigrants set down suddenly among strangers to begin life anew, he saw the frowning face of foreign nationalism, convulsed with mad designs against his beloved America.

No opinion that he held was more firmly implanted than that there could be no divided allegiance in this country; the Catholic was either an American or a foreigner. If an American, he must be an American in every sense and cast his lot without reserve among the people who were his fellow-citizens. Apart from the public policy of this, apart from the broadminded wisdom which inspired it, it comported with Gibbons' own aspirations as a man and as a citizen.

In general perspective, he regarded the institutions of his country as the best in the world. With sorrow he saw them sometimes perverted to base uses; and when the occasion presented itself, he never failed to raise his voice against abuses that crept into the body politic, whether the cause which he espoused happened to be popular or unpopular. He knew the dangers of democratic government; but he also knew the perils of less liberal systems. In the atmosphere of political freedom he found the best final solution for all merely material questions which affected mankind. He maintained that the duty of the Catholic, which was nothing more or less than the duty of any other citizen, was to identify himself without thought of religious discrimination with all that concerned the best that was in American institutions, setting

his face firmly against corruption, the evils of partisan politics, economic wrong and social disorder.

Foreigners who came to these shores he welcomed as Catholics, if they happened to be such; but, at all events, as Americans of the future; men of the same origin either directly or remotely as others who had helped to populate the country; men who would in time share in the responsibilities, the burdens, the rewards of citizenship, and become as thorough upholders of the American idea as were those whose ancestors had come earlier from the Old World to seek better opportunities in the new. In the spiritual and moral natures of Catholics, as developed by the ministrations of the Church, he saw fruitful soil for the flower of unselfish patriotism.

CHAPTER XXX

FALL OF THE CAHENSLY CAUSE

Exaggeration clouded the real extent of the support which Cahenslyism received in America; but even allowing for this, it was undoubtedly large. The most active spokesman of the American Cahenslyites in Rome in the early stages of the struggle was the Rev. P. M. Abbelen, Vicar-General of the diocese of Milwaukee, who submitted to the Propaganda, as early as 1886, a pamphlet in which he presented their case. Abbelen went to Rome fortified with a letter of general commendation from Cardinal Gibbons, who did not know that a part of his mission was to appeal in behalf of retaining the nationalities of immigrant Catholics in America.

Gibbons was soon awake to the truth. His mind grasped not only the full force of what was being attempted at the time, but the immensely greater bearings which it might have upon the future of the Church in this country and upon the country itself.

The Germans would have been elated to obtain his assistance in behalf of Cahenslyism. Throughout their agitation most of them spoke of him with respect and even filial affection, because his conduct in the diocese of Baltimore had been such as to remove any ground for charges of discrimination on account of nationality. The

largest congregation in the city [1] was German, presided over by Redemptorist Fathers who conducted their ministrations in that language. There were admirable church facilities for all German immigrants who arrived in the diocese to be instructed in their own tongue at first. Poles, Bohemians and other nationalities were similarly provided for. The Cardinal frequently visited these churches and cooperated with the pastors in the care of their flocks. The religious and material welfare of the immigrants had been a subject close to his heart, but he felt that this welfare was dependent in large part upon their being Americanized as soon as was reasonably expedient.

When Abbelen presented his plea in Rome, Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Keane were there, having gone to discuss with the Congregation of the Propaganda plans for the establishment of the Catholic University of America; and they availed themselves of the opportunity to make a vigorous reply. They repudiated the view that there was any question between German and Irish Catholics, insisting that the only question that could be considered was that "between the English language, which is the language of the United States, and the German language, which immigrants have brought to the United States." There was not even a sign, they stoutly maintained, of a conflict of peoples in America. No Irish parishes existed, and no efforts had been made to establish them, notwithstanding the fact that the Irish constituted such a large element in the Church; for they readily assimilated with the rest of the population. Pro-

[1] St. Michael's.

ceeding with their argument, these two prelates showed that there were many diverse nationalities in America in addition to the Germans, and that it was particularly essential for that reason to preserve the unity of Church government. They pronounced as reprehensible a complaint which had been made at a meeting of Bohemian societies a short time before that up to that time there had been no Bohemian in the American episcopate.

Regarding the Germans, they showed that the people of that nationality were not by any means a unit in support of the Cahensly point of view. There existed, however, "what we may call the active party, whose objects seem to be to preserve intact the German spirit among immigrants and their descendants, and to prevent them from changing their language for the English language and to give a preponderating position to German influence in the Church in America." This was the party for which Abbelen spoke, and they denied that he possessed in any way a general representative character. The project of establishing a permanent Germany in America, in their view, was approved only by a comparatively small proportion of the immigrants, the great majority of whom desired complete and early identification with the institutions and language of their adopted country.

Ireland and Keane freely conceded that the immigrants should have facilities for themselves and for their children to practise their religion at first in the languages most familiar to them. To this end, they showed that the American Bishops had been multiplying churches for the benefit of different nationalities, yet it was the tendency of the immigrants to get away from such churches

as soon as possible and identify themselves with the overwhelming mass of the people. German children who were instructed in their native language in the school spoke English by preference when they entered the recreation yard. The churches established for foreigners, and in which foreign languages were spoken from the pulpit and in the confessional, were constantly losing by departures to English speaking parishes, though gaining naturally from the new arrivals from Europe.

In mixed parishes where there were large numbers of Germans, presided over by German priests, hundreds of children forsook the parochial school because the English language was not used. Other children were in danger of being alienated from the Church because of their inability to obtain instruction in the catechism in English, which would prepare them in this manner for the transition from one language to the other. Ireland and Keane also remarked significantly:

"With a German Church in America there is no opportunity for the conversion of American Protestants. This is a vital question for religion."

They summed up their argument in words which bespoke the mind of Gibbons, saying:

"The Church will never be strong in America; she will never be sure of keeping within her fold the descendants of immigrants, Irish as well as others, until she has gained a decided ascendency among the Americans themselves. Thank God, the time seems favorable for their conversion; prejudices are disappearing; there is a distinct movement toward the Church. To accelerate it, the Church naturally must, as far as it can be done without danger to other interests, be presented in a form attrac-

tive to Americans. The great objection which they have until now urged against her—an objection which at certain periods of their history they entertained so strongly as even to raise persecution—is that the Catholic Church is composed of foreigners; that she exists in America as a foreign institution, and that she is, consequently, a menace to the existence of the nation."

While Abbelen was in Rome, he managed to stir the controversy to such a point that a meeting of some of the American Archbishops was called to counteract what he was doing. Gibbons wrote in his journal:

"Dec. 16 [1886]. A meeting of the Archbishops of Boston, Philadelphia, New York and myself was held in Philadelphia to consider certain statements made by the German episcopate in this country, through their agent, Father Abbelen, now in Rome, in which they wrote that the Germans are not fairly treated, and that due attention is not paid to the spiritual wants of the German faithful. All the statements are refuted in a letter to Cardinal Simeoni, which was written by Archbishop Corrigan, as Secretary, and mailed by the morrow's steamer. I cabled (an account of) our meeting to Bishops Keane and Ireland in Rome."

One of the favorite arguments of the Cahenslyites was that Bishops of Irish birth or extraction in America were not sufficiently solicitous for the care of immigrants from continental Europe. Gibbons took occasion in 1889 to combat this view. His journal for that year contains the following entry:

"April 10. Wrote to Cardinal Simeoni in relation to a charge that the German people were sometimes neglected by Irish bishops in this country. . . . I stated

that the charge was untrue, as far as my information extended."

He expressed his feelings strongly in a letter written from a sick room to Archbishop Elder June 3, 1891, as follows:

"I regard your meeting (the consultors of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati) as exceedingly important as being the first that will take place since the revelation of the Americo-European conspiracy, which has inflicted so deep an insult on the episcopate and the Catholics of the United States, and seems to regard the Sees of America as fit to be filled by the first greedy ecclesiastical adventurer that comes to our country. An American Bishop, in view of the important position which he has as a property holder and as a citizen, should be a man possessed of a deep love not only for his Church, but also for this country, and a thorough acquaintance and sympathy with our political institutions."

As the agitation waxed stronger and echoes of it began to resound throughout the world, Gibbons determined that the whole weight of the American Hierarchy should be thrown into the scale. After having written to Leo XIII fully setting forth his own views on Cahenslyism, he called a meeting of the Archbishops in Philadelphia, who accepted his stand as their own, and framed a strong protest which was sent to the Propaganda. They urged three basic principles:

First, that there should exist among all the parishes of the United States, without distinction of nationality, a perfect equality, and that each should be independent of the other.

Second, that it was not necessary that any privilege should be accorded to any nationality in the administration of dioceses and parishes.

Third, that it was the plain duty of every Bishop to do his utmost that all the faithful, of all languages, who might be in his diocese be taken care of with the same charity.

Leo never showed any sympathy toward Cahenslyism, and the appeal of the American episcopate moved him to condemn it unequivocally. On July 4, 1891, he addressed to Gibbons, through Cardinal Rampolla, a letter announcing the views of the Apostolic See on the question. He declared that the existing laws for the selection of Bishops were to be observed without modification, and that no toleration could be accorded to practises which had arisen in opposition to those laws. Gibbons thus recorded in his journal the receipt of the Papal verdict, and also commendation of his stand by President Harrison:

"July 11 [1891]. Received from Cardinal Rampolla, Secretary of State, a letter in which the Holy Father announces his determination not to grant the petition of Herr Cahensly that national Bishops be appointed for the United States. I sent copies of the letter to all the Archbishops.

"While at Cape May, I had an interesting conversation with President Harrison, in which he thanked me for my denunciation of the Cahensly memorial. He said he had watched the subject with deep interest, and that he had sometimes thought of writing to me, but hesitated lest he might be interfering with church matters."

Harrison met Gibbons while enjoying a walk at that

summer resort, where the President found relief from his exacting duties. He invited the Cardinal into his cottage, and there they talked at length about the Cahensly controversy. The President showed a rather broad comprehension of questions affecting the Church in the United States. The attempt to introduce the factor of nationality in selections for the episcopate appeared to him to have great potency for harm, and he expressed his unbounded satisfaction that the movement had been checked through the influence of the prelate who spoke for America in all things relating to the Church.

Gibbons described this meeting in the following letter to Monsignor O'Connell:

"CAPE MAY, NEW JERSEY, July 12, 1891.

"RIGHT REV. DEAR FRIEND:

"Yesterday, while taking a walk with Rev. Dr. Magnien, I accidentally met the President of the United States, who happened to be walking toward me going to his cottage.

"He greeted me most cordially, and invited me to walk with him. We went together for some time chatting pleasantly, till we approached his cottage. When I was in the act of saying 'Good-bye' to him and continuing my walk, he kindly asked me to accompany him to his cottage. I cheerfully complied, of course.

"After discoursing for some time on various things, Mr. Harrison, without any suggestion on my part, introduced the subject of the Cahensly memorials, and the agitation which they were causing in the United States. He then remarked to me:

" 'I have followed the question with profound interest, and I regard it as a subject of deep importance to our country at large, one in which the American people are

much concerned. I have also conversed on the subject with Mr. Tracy, a member of my cabinet. Foreign and unauthorized interference with American affairs cannot be viewed with indifference.'

"The President then continued:

" 'I was very much pleased with the opinion which you expressed publicly in the matter. I had thought several times of writing to you, and offering you my congratulations on the remarks that you made, but I refrained from doing so lest I should be interfering with church matters. But I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing my satisfaction at the words you have spoken and of opening my mind. This is no longer a missionary country like others which need missionaries from abroad. It has an authorized Hierarchy and well-established congregations. Of all men, the Bishops of the Church should be in full harmony with the political institutions and sentiments of the country.'

"The President concluded by saying that I had his authority to make any use I thought proper of his remarks.

"I told the President I was happy to inform him that on this very day I had a letter from his Eminence, Cardinal Rampolla, written by direction of the Holy Father, in which the Cardinal informed me that the Pope had rejected the Cahensly petition regarding the appointment of foreign Bishops. The President seemed to be much pleased in receiving this information. . . .

"Believe me,

"Your faithful friend in Christ,

"J. Card. Gibbons."

While Gibbons had felt throughout that the mass of enlightened opinion in America, including the opinion of men in public life, regardless of creed, had been in accordance with his own as to Cahenslyism, motives of

propriety had hitherto forbidden him to transmit to Rome direct evidences of that condition. Leo had long before become accustomed to accept the views of Gibbons on such subjects as authoritative and unquestionable, and the actual presentation to the Pope of expressions of judgment outside the Church was not necessary; but here Gibbons saw an opportunity to confound the purposes of those who had been resisting his policies which was not to be overlooked.

In expressing his satisfaction that the President thought as he did upon Cahenslyism, he therefore suggested that as Harrison had contemplated writing a letter on the subject, it might not be too late then to do so. The President replied that while he feared to "burn his fingers" by meddling in ecclesiastical questions, he had no objection to the Cardinal stating his views in a letter to the authorities in Rome. Gibbons transmitted to Rampolla a full account of the conversation, and received a reply expressive of the satisfaction which it had caused at the Vatican.

Cahenslyism was only checked; it was not yet ready to accept the defeat and utter rout which were to overtake it later. Some of its captains clung to the hope that another way to accomplish its ends would be found than by obtaining sanction for the selection of nationalist Bishops. So far as the movement was confined to churchmen, the Pope's verdict was, of course, final. The fact that the agitation did not cease lent strong color to the belief that some of its most powerful sources were secret ones allied with political influences in Germany, whose designs were

not limited or even affected by any decision given by a purely religious tribunal.

Fortified by the formally promulgated decision of Leo, Gibbons resolved to rebuke the agitation in one of its strongholds in America. The pallium was to be conferred upon Archbishop Katzer of Milwaukee in St. John's Cathedral, that city, on August 20, 1891. He framed his address for that occasion so that none might mistake its meaning in or out of the diocese in which he spoke. The ceremony was marked by the presence of more than seven hundred prelates and priests, embracing, as was to be expected in Milwaukee, every nationality represented among the American people.

Gibbons began his address by speaking of the "streams of immigrants" which had flowed into Wisconsin, and of the solicitude of the Church for their welfare. He continued:

"We have only to contemplate the scene before us today to be convinced that the Catholic Church of America is a family derived from many nations. It reminds us of the heterogeneous multitude that assembled on the day of Pentecost, and who all heard, each one in his own tongue, the wonderful works of God proclaimed by the Apostles.

"Not so varied was the audience that listened to the Apostles on Pentecost Day as are the congregations that arrive at our shores and kneel together at our altars. Many come to us from England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, Italy, Poland, Bohemia, Belgium and Holland, and commingle together in prayer with the great American Catholic body, that holds out to them the right hand of fellowship. Differing in

language, in habits and tastes, they are united in the bonds of a common religion, having one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all. But, thanks to God, the Catholic Church of America is united not only by the bond of the common faith, but what is more precious, it is united also by the bond of Christian brotherhood."

Gibbons then spoke of the harmony that existed among the Hierarchy, as had been exhibited at the Third Plenary Council and at the centennial celebration of the See of Baltimore in 1889. This was a background for the message which he had come to deliver, the message that the unity of the Church in this country was not to be broken by rivalries based upon nationalism. In his clear, vibrant voice, then in the full of its vigor, he thus spoke the overpowering thought that was in him:

"Woe to him, my brethren, who would destroy or impair this blessed harmony that reigns among us! Woe to him who would sow tares of discord in the fair fields of the Church in America! Woe to him who would breed dissension among the leaders of Israel by introducing a spirit of nationalism into the camps of the Lord! Brothers we are, whatever may be our nationality, and brothers we shall remain. We will prove to our countrymen that the ties formed by grace and faith are stronger than flesh and blood. God and our country!—this our watchword. Loyalty to God's Church and to our country!—this our religious and political faith.

"Let us unite hand in hand in laboring for the Church of our fathers. The more we extend the influence of the Christian religion, the more we will contribute to the stability of our political and social fabric. . . .

"Next to love for God, should be our love for our country. The author of our being has stamped in the

human breast a love for one's country, and therefore patriotism is a sentiment commended by Almighty God Himself. If the inhabitant of the Arctic regions clings to his country though living amid perpetual ice and snow, how much more should we be attached to this land of ours so bountifully favored by heaven? If the Apostles inculcated respect for their rulers and obedience to the laws of the Roman Empire, though these laws were often framed for the purpose of crushing and exterminating the primitive Christians, how much more devoted should we be to our civil government which protects us in our persons and property, without interfering with our rights and liberties, and with what alacrity we should observe the laws of our country, which were framed solely with the view of promoting our peace and happiness!

"The Catholic community in the United States has been conspicuous for its loyalty in the century that has passed away; and we, I am sure, will emulate the patriotism of our fathers in the faith.

"Let us glory in the title of American citizen. We owe our allegiance to one country, and that country is America. We must be in harmony with our political institutions. It matters not whether this is the land of our birth or the land of our adoption. It is the land of our destiny. . . .

"When our brethren across the Atlantic resolve to come to our shores, may they be animated by the sentiments of Ruth, when she determined to join her husband's kindred in the land of Israel, and may they say to you as she said to their relations: 'Whither thou hast gone, I also shall go—where thou dwellest, I also shall dwell; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. The land that shall receive thee dying, in the same will I die, and there will I be buried."

Gibbons well knew what it meant to deliver a sermon

like that in Milwaukee at the time. Speaking of it twenty-two years later, he said:

"It was one of the most audacious things I ever did, but it had to be done. When I finished they were aghast, but I think the lesson had its effect. It was a question upon which there could be no compromise or hesitation."

The anxiety which he had shown so long that a largely increased number of priests in this country should be of American birth was now redoubled. While the Cahensly debate was at white heat, he made an address at the centennial celebration of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, in October, 1891, in which he used these significant words:

"We can never, indeed, be sufficiently grateful for the apostolic labors of the clergy who have come to us from Europe in the past century. Without them, tens of thousands would have died of spiritual starvation. But if the Church is to take deep roots in the country and to flourish, it must be sustained by men racy of the soil, educated at home, breathing the spirit of the country, growing with its growth, and in harmony with its civil and political institutions."

The Cahenslyites were unwilling to desist from their marshaling of nationalist units in exercising pressure as new Bishops were selected by the process prescribed by the Third Plenary Council. After their persistence had been in evidence for nearly a year beyond the time of Leo's declaration, Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Propaganda, was so disturbed by it that he addressed a vigorous letter to Gibbons, urging that a stop be put to the entire agitation. He wrote:

"You are certainly well aware that on the occasion of vacancies in episcopal sees in the United States divers commotions very often arise among both clergy and people, which the event shows are growing more serious and frequent as time goes on. The effects which usually result in such cases are neither trivial nor hidden, nor are they of such a nature that this Sacred Congregation can pass them over in silence. For we have now and again seen clergy and people active beyond their legitimate rights in the nominations of candidates for the episcopal office; contentions are diffused and are fomented through the press; public and private meetings are held on the subject, in which each faction extols its own candidate, while it disparages those of its opponents. But what particularly fosters these contentions is the violent zeal with which each faction endeavors to secure Bishops of its own nationality, as if private utility and not the Church's interest were the end to be looked to in the selection of a suitable pastor.

"Moreover, while the Apostolic See has the interest of the Church alone in view in appointing Bishops for the Christian flock in the world at large, it is more especially influenced by this consideration in naming Bishops for the United States of America, where immigrants from the different nations of Europe, by adopting that country as their own, are blended together in one people, and form consequently but one nation. Since, therefore, the manner of electing Bishops in the Church of the United States, accurately and wisely defined, is laid down in the decrees of its National Councils, and particularly in those of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, strenuous efforts should be made to do away with all action that is contrary to it. For these decrees, which are above all in harmony with the requirements of time and place, and which have been enacted by the unanimous voice of the Bishops and confirmed by the authority of the Apostolic

See, are not such as can in any wise be set aside in favor of private individuals without serious injury to discipline.

"I consider it my duty to communicate these matters to you, so that this evil may be opposed at its birth, before it has grown strong with time. It is desirable, therefore, that in every diocese both clergy and people be warned, in the first place, of the deplorable results which result from contests of this kind; that they not only rend asunder the bond of harmony which should exist among souls and relax the vigor of ecclesiastical discipline, but become a stumbling-block and scandal to non-Catholics as well. Furthermore, let the Bishops, in the name of the Sacred Congregation, publicly make it known that whatever is done beyond the prescriptions of the Councils will be of no avail, since the Apostolic See esteems nothing of greater importance than to uphold the vigor of the ecclesiastical law which is at once the defense of order and the bulwark of peace." [2]

The charges of Catholic losses through allowing immigrants to stray from the faith were renewed from time to time in Rome. Gibbons wrote in his journal:

"Nov. 19 [1892]. The Archbishops assembled in New York forwarded to the Holy Father a letter repudiating the misstatements of Herr Cahensly regarding the defection from the faith of so many millions in times past."

The Cahenslyites aimed some of their sharpest arrows at Bishop Keane, who had stood with Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland in the group of their most formidable opponents. They dared not antagonize Gibbons openly, and centered their fire on his lieutenants. Ireland

[2] Letter of Cardinal Ledochowski to Cardinal Gibbons, May 18, 1892.

met successfully the shock of their most violent assaults, but Keane proved to be more vulnerable.

In the faculty of the Catholic University there developed a comparatively small but resourceful and active group of men who antagonized the rector, at first covertly and then openly. The most conspicuous of them was Mgr. Schroeder, a German who occupied the chair of dogmatic theology. This group declared that in supporting Ireland on the school question, Keane was departing from Catholic truth as to education. Naturally, such contentions tended to compromise him as the head of the principal educational institution of the Church in the United States.

The sequel was that in September, 1896, the Vatican notified Gibbons that a new rector of the university would be appointed, as it was not considered wise to depart from the custom that the heads of Catholic educational institutions should not hold their posts in perpetuity. The foes of Americanism in the Church hailed this as a triumph which was a partial offset to their rout on the two main issues—the school question and that of nationalist Bishops.

The decision of Rome was coupled with the announcement that Keane would be elevated to the rank of Archbishop and the choice was offered to him of remaining in the United States, in which case a See would be provided for him, or if he desired to go to Rome a field of labor would be found for him there. He decided to proceed to Rome, where honors were bestowed upon him and he was able to speak for himself in a manner which reversed the tide of opinion there as to some con-

ditions at the university under his leadership. He was finally elevated to the archbishopric of Dubuque and returned to the United States to take up the active administration of that See.

The Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, then president of the Catholic Summer School at Plattsburg, New York, was selected as the new rector. At the installation of Dr. Conaty as rector in January, 1897, Cardinal Gibbons made the principal address, and took the opportunity to express his ever warm affection for Bishop Keane. The Cardinal declared that Keane was justly entitled to be called the second founder of the university, recalling that when he was appointed rector even the land for the institution had not been bought. With emotion he told how the Bishop had traversed the length and breadth of the land, arousing Catholics everywhere by his eloquent pleas which resulted in obtaining the large sum of money needed for establishing the university.

The Cardinal laid down as the watchword of the university "Revelation and Science, Religion and Patriotism, God and our Country." He contrasted the conditions at the institution, with which the government never thought of interfering, and where the only obstacle to further development was a lack of funds, with conditions which he had observed in the course of his European trips. The American Constitution was admirably adapted to the growth and expansion of the Catholic religion, and the Catholic religion was admirably adapted to the genius of the Constitution.

In his inaugural address, Dr. Conaty emphasized that the university was Catholic, that it was for the Church

in America, and was American in the fullest sense, having as the circle of its beneficiaries the American Catholic people.

After his return from Rome, Keane delivered an address at the investiture of Dr. Conaty as a domestic prelate of the Pope, saying:

"This is the Catholic University of America. It is truly, intensely Catholic and absolutely American. Its American character has been approved by the Holy Father and he desires that it shall always continue so. I may assure you that no body of men will be allowed to disturb this university in its most useful purpose—that of fostering true Catholicity and missionary Americanism."

The revival of intolerance of which Gibbons had given solemn warning came to pass. The attempt to eject foreign questions into the Church in America produced the natural result of stirring popular prejudice, too ready at all times to thrust itself into questions concerning religion. As usual, the mass of these forces of discord became merged in one compact organization, the so-called "American Protective Association," abbreviated in popular parlance to "A. P. A." It was a comparatively weak revival of the "Know Nothing" movement and, unlike its abhorrent predecessor, spilled no blood, but aimed blindly at any Catholic target which presented itself.

Its fomenters professed to find particular cause for disquietude in the fact that Cardinal Gibbons had been present by invitation of Speaker Crisp in the House of Representatives at Washington, when the final vote on the Wilson tariff bill was taken while Mr. Cleveland

was President; and the bold declarations of Archbishop Ireland on political questions furnished abundant texts for their fiery discourses. In particular, the appointment of Satolli as Apostolic Delegate moved them to proclaim that the nation was being imperiled.[3] As in the "Know Nothing" movement, there were constant and vociferous declarations that the great wave of immigration was a menace to American institutions, and agents of the association used this argument freely as a means of influencing elections. While the movement never attained sufficient influence to stamp it as more than sporadic, it served to call attention to the danger of departing from the straight path in the consideration of questions affecting American nationality.

When the Presidential election of 1892 took place, the new anti-Catholic agitation was near its pinnacle. In the campaign which preceded that election, a favorite theme brought forward by the "A. P. A.," and persons outside of it whose thoughts ran in lines parallel to it was Mr. Cleveland's friendship for Cardinal Gibbons. William Black, of Chelsea, Massachusetts, drew from Mr. Cleveland a characteristic declaration on that subject by writing to him in regard to the following extract from a report of a speech in the *British-American:*

"When Cleveland became President he had a wire run from the White House to the Cardinal's palace, and placed a Roman Catholic at the head of every division of the 15,000 employees in the public departments, and permitted nuns, without authority and against the printed instructions hung up in every public building in Wash-

[3] Desmond, *The A. P. A. Movement*, p. 15.

ington, to go twice each month through them and command every clerk to contribute to the support of the Roman Catholic Church," etc.

Mr. Cleveland made this reply:

"GRAY GABLES,
"BUZZARD'S BAY, MASS.,
"July 11, 1892.

"*William Black, Esq.:*

"Dear Sir:

"I am almost ashamed to yield to your request to deny a statement so silly and absurd on its face as the one you send me. However, as this is the second application I have received on the same subject, I think it best to end the matter so far as it is possible to do so by branding the statement in all its details as unqualifiedly and absolutely false.

"I know Cardinal Gibbons and know him to be a good citizen and first-rate American, and that his kindness of heart and toleration are in striking contrast to the fierce intolerance and vicious malignity which disgrace some who claim to be Protestants. I know a number of members of the Catholic Church who were employed in the public service during my administration, and I suppose there were many so employed.

"I should be ashamed of my Presbyterianism if these declarations gave ground for offense.

"Yours very truly,
"GROVER CLEVELAND."

Another organization which sprang up about this time, and whose objects reflected some of the opinions put forward by the American Protective Association, was the "National League for the Protection of American Institutions." It was formed at Saratoga Springs, New York,

in August, 1889, and included in the membership of its board of managers a number of men prominent in New York City and State. Its first president was John Jay, who was succeeded by William H. Parsons.[4] The principal object which it sought was an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the use of money raised by taxation in aid of any church or religious society, or any institution under "sectarian or ecclesiastical control." While this part of its plan never progressed further than the stage of agitation, the influence of the league was strongly exercised in bringing about the abolition of government appropriations for Catholic Indian schools, and in causing the insertion of clauses in some State constitutions in conformity with its principles.

As the American Protective Association's operations were conducted for the most part in secret, the effects of its ferment were sometimes difficult to trace to any source. Catholics felt that an unseen danger constantly menaced their equal rights as Americans. As the movement continued, a demand developed that organization should offset organization in resisting the anti-Catholic warfare. This took shape in January, 1896, when the American Catholic League was organized for the purpose of combating the "A. P. A."

Promoters of this society knew that it could not be effective without the backing of Gibbons, and made efforts to obtain his endorsement. This drew from him a direct expression of his views in the following statement issued from his household:

"The Cardinal wishes to be understood as in no way

[4] King, *Facing the Twentieth Century*, p. 520 *et seq.*

approving any secret organization, political or non-political, within the Church or without. He believes that it is the duty of all to regard, in electing to office, the best men, irrespective of their religious convictions; and that no man should be debarred from offices of public trust or private confidence because of his religious professions."

The American Protective Association was particularly aggressive in the presidential campaign of 1896. Its activities took the form of fighting by its peculiar methods the nomination and support of Catholics for any office by any party. So open and threatening was the movement that Gibbons felt it imperative to write a letter in which he further set forth his attitude as follows:

"It is the duty of the leaders of political parties to express themselves without any equivocation on the principles of religious freedom which underlie our Constitution. Catholics are devoted to both the great political parties of the country, and each individual is left entirely to his own conscience. We are proud to say that in the United States the great Catholic Church has never used or perverted its acknowledged power by seeking to make politics subservient to its own advancement. Moreover, it is our proud boast that we have never interfered with the civil or political rights of any who may have differed from us in religion.

"We demand the same rights for ourselves and nothing more, and will be content with nothing less. Not only is it the duty of all parties distinctly to set their faces against the false and un-American principles thrust forward of late; but, much as I would regret the entire identification of any religious body, as such, with any particular party, I am convinced that the members of any religious body whose rights, civil and religious, are attacked,

will naturally and unanimously espouse the cause of the party which has the courage to avow openly the principles of civil and religious liberty according to the Constitution. Patience is a virtue, but is not the only virtue; when pushed too far, it may degenerate into pusillanimity."

Cahenslyism was, perhaps, the most serious danger which has ever threatened the progress of the Catholic Church in this country. The most powerful force in checking it was undoubtedly Cardinal Gibbons, with the active assistance of his devoted friends and gifted co-workers, such as Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Keane and Mgr. O'Connell. If the United States is a unit, unbroken by divergencies and jealousies of race and language, the country owes a debt to him more than to any other single force for arresting the progress of a propaganda perhaps more ominous to the future of the nation than was the anti-slavery agitation in its beginnings. A Gibbons with the will, the power, the fertility of resource, the clear vision of the future, the tact and firmness, the rare traits of statesmanship which he showed in extinguishing the flame of Cahenslyism might have nullified the violent forces unloosed in the conflict over slavery, and brought about a solution of the problem with the same substantial results, but without the interposition of a tremendous and fratricidal war.

Seventeen years before America entered the World War his mind grasped the danger of dissension, perhaps even of disruption, from foreign elements, that were rising like a great cloud unseen or unheeded by many, and overspreading the country. Tardy statesmen could esti-

mate its potentiality as he did only when it was too late to prepare to meet it. In 1890 the number of foreign born white inhabitants in the United States was 9,121,-867; in 1910, four years before Europe's war deluge put a sudden stop to emigration, the number was 13,345,-545.[5] There had been a further increase of some hundreds of thousands by 1917, when America became engulfed in the war. The measure of Gibbons' work in arresting the danger from this source is found not alone in what might be termed the negative effect upon the largest group of the mass of approximately 4,500,000 persons who represented the accretion of the foreign born here between 1890 and 1910 and among whom the Catholic Church, largely through what he did, became in effect an active agent for Americanization—the most powerful agent which could have reached into their lives and helped to mold them. It must be measured also by the positive effect which would have been produced by the active consolidation of these foreign born units that would have taken place under the program of Cahenslyism, if that program had not been defeated. Beyond that, there was a great reduction of the effort to retain in compact groups the diverse national units formed here before 1890 among the foreigners then in the country.

With the artificial check of Cahenslyism removed from the natural process of the assimilation of this mass, hundreds of thousands who would have misunderstood and perhaps turned against America in 1917 learned to understand her, to love her, to fight for her with an ardor and courage second to none. Of course, no effort could have

[5] United States census figures.

brought complete loyalty and unity; as it was, the degree of hostility to America, of seeing her with European eyes, of holding to the tie abroad more strongly than the tie in this country, was so great that some of the most optimistic have doubted that America could have entered the war as a unit in 1914, or perhaps even in 1915 or 1916. The ominousness of the actual threat against the nation's life that was faced is an indication of what its proportions might have been had not the victory over Cahenslyism been achieved.

Gibbons clearly saw that if there should be a divided America from foreign influence there would be many to lay the blame at the door of the Catholic Church, no matter what the cause; if the cause had proceeded from the concrete and deliberate policy proposed by the Cahenslyites, there would be many more to accuse her. This he knew would have arrested her progress, perhaps for years, and might have led under stress of popular feeling to excesses beside which those of previous unfortunate periods might have seemed insignificant. He felt that she must not only be free of foreign influence, but that the mass of his fellow countrymen must be made to know that she was free of it. To allow the progress of religion to be set back in that manner would have meant that the countless efforts and sacrifices of a multitude of Bishops and priests in years of work would have been debarred from producing the fruit which they ought to yield. He could not be affected by the clamor for national Bishops when such thoughts as these surged in his mind.

He felt that the foreigners here had all to gain and nothing to lose by falling in unreservedly with the na-

tional destiny of America. Realizing the historical and ethnic origins of the clashes of nationalist groups in Europe, he believed that one of the greatest blessings which could come to the immigrants was deliverance from such clashes. Above all, he was as firmly persuaded as a man could be of anything, that the Church's destiny here and the nation's destiny were one. The confusion of one would be the confusion of the other; the welfare and stability of one were the welfare and stability of the other.

CHAPTER XXXI

INTERPRETATIONS OF FATHER HECKER

Cahenslyism was, in effect, a misunderstanding of America by Europe. A new form of this misunderstanding arose in a controversy that sprang up over the publication of the *Life of Father Hecker*, a biography by the Rev. Walter Elliott, of the Paulist order, of his gifted leader. This controversy was continued so long, proceeding from one extreme to another, that Leo XIII was called upon to check it. Such misconceptions were perhaps inevitable, in view of the sudden expansion of the Church here, and because she was taking a rôle far greater in the world wide perspective of Catholicism than before. The differences, deplored as they were while in progress, served to clear the air and bring about a greater degree of harmony than before they arose.

The Church in this respect reflected the general evolution of the American nation. As America became the foremost nation of the world in numbers, wealth and general resources, so the Church here became one of the foremost units of the faith that had its seat in the Chair of Peter. Ecclesiastical misunderstandings with Europe had their counterpart in political misunderstandings with Europe. Both appeared to be inevitable. In each case the obscure and inaccurate views were not held, for the most part, among leaders, but among those less informed. Leo

understood America, as did many of the chief statesmen of Europe. In fact, it seems that he had a deeper and truer international understanding than any secular statesman or ruler of his time; but, in the popular mind on both sides of the Atlantic, there was a lack of mutual comprehension that found expression among those who could not see from the higher vantage points. This found vent, in a characteristic way, in the animated debate over the *Life of Father Hecker*.

While Hecker was living the life of which Elliott wrote, no one questioned the orthodoxy of his churchmanship, his exemplary piety or the wonderful results of his preaching. No American priest stood higher in the esteem of Rome; none higher in the affection and admiration of his brethren in his own country. No one raised a voice to deny that he was doing a great and necessary work for the Church by bringing her in more intimate touch with the American people. He had been, as we have seen, a member of the group of Redemptorists who had been instrumental in turning the thoughts of Gibbons, when a youth in New Orleans, to the mission of the priesthood, and Gibbons, strong as always in personal ties and gratitude, remembered this vividly. These two men continued to feel a deep interest in each other. Hecker had visited Gibbons in Richmond when the latter was a young Bishop, and none felt a deeper sense of personal delight in the honors which were showered upon him as Cardinal.

Hecker died in 1888, when his order was firmly established as the leading American agency for the conversion of Protestants, and for the evangelization of the people

already in the fold of the Church. Its preachers traveled from the Atlantic to the Pacific, stirring up the flames of religious ardor, proclaiming everywhere, as Gibbons proclaimed, loyalty to God and loyalty to country.

The individuality of each nation, Hecker taught, should be used as the instrument by which the people might be brought to God. He held that it was not without the will of God that this individuality had been developed; why, then, not take advantage of it? In America the people had worked out a political system which had brought them liberty and power, making the country a refuge for the oppressed and the unfortunate. This, he felt, had been due to the blessing of God, working in secular affairs through the freedom and independent character of Americans. Their characteristic qualities could be utilized in a special manner by the Church to bring people within her fold. He desired the cultivation of the natural and active virtues as being more in accordance with the age than the passive ones.

He also took the ground that since the Vatican Council had formally defined the doctrine of Papal infallibility and had fixed the constitution of the Church in final form, the time had come for a wide development of individual action within the limits thus laid down. Hecker always insisted upon "absolute and unswerving loyalty to the authority of the Church, wherever and however expressed, as God's authority upon earth and for all time"; but he believed at the same time that men as the children of God must receive the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[1] He held that the Holy Spirit acts directly upon

[1] Sedgwick. *Life of Father Hecker*, p. 97 *et seq.*

the inner life of man, and in that light is his superior and director. That its guidance may become more and more immediate in the interior life and the soul's obedience more and more instinctive, was the object, in his opinion, of the whole external order of the Church, including the sacramental system. He taught that the sum of spiritual life consisted in yielding to the movements of the spirit of God in the soul. He saw no conflict between the external authority of the Church as a guide of the soul and the direct action of the Holy Spirit without human intervention. Hecker wrote:

"The action of the Holy Spirit embodied visibly in the authority of the Church, and the action of the Holy Spirit dealing invisibly in the soul, form one inseparable synthesis; and he who has not a clear conception of this twofold action of the Holy Spirit is in danger of running into one or the other, and sometimes into both of these extremes, either of which is destructive of the end of the Church. The Holy Spirit in the external authority of the Church acts as the infallible interpreter and criterion of Divine revelation. The Holy Spirit in the soul acts as the Divine life-giver and sanctifier."

The practical unanimity with which Hecker's real views were accepted by American Catholics was indicated by the fact that Elliott's biography of him was issued with special indorsement by two members of the Hierarchy who represented, perhaps, the widest variation in the schools of thought within that body. Archbishop Corrigan, who leaned to conservatism, gave his imprimatur and Archbishop Ireland, spokesman of liberal views, wrote a eulogistic introduction for the book, in which he said:

"Father Hecker was the typical American priest; his were the gifts of mind and heart that can do great work for God and for souls in America at the present time. . . . There must be added the practical intelligence and the pliability of will to understand one's surroundings, the ground upon which he is to deploy his forces and to adapt himself to circumstances and opportunities as Providence appoints. . . . It is as clear to me as noonday light that countries and peoples have each their peculiar needs and aspirations, as they have their peculiar environments, and that, if we would enter into souls and control them, we must deal with them according to their conditions.

"The ideal line of conduct for the priest in Assyria will be out of all measure in Mexico or Minnesota, and I doubt not that one doing fairly well in Minnesota would by similar methods set things sadly astray in Leinster or Bavaria. The Saviour prescribed timeliness in pastoral caring. The master of a house, He said, 'bringeth forth out of his treasury new things and old,' as there is demand for one kind or the other.

"The circumstances of Catholics have been peculiar in the United States, and we have unavoidably suffered on this account. Catholics in largest numbers were Europeans, and so were their priests, many of whom—by no means all—remained in heart and mind and mode of action as alien to America as if they had never been removed from the Shannon, the Loire or the Rhine. No one need remind me that immigration has brought us inestimable blessings, or that without it the Church in America would be of small stature. The remembrance of a precious fact is not put aside, if I recall an accidental evil attaching to it.

"Priests foreign in disposition and work were not fitted to make favorable impressions upon the non-Catholic American population, and the American-born chil-

dren of Catholic immigrants were likely to escape their action. And, lest I be misunderstood, I assert all this is as true of priests coming from Ireland as from any other foreign country. Even priests of American ancestry, ministering to immigrants, not infrequently fell into the lines of those around them, and did but little to make the Church in America throb with American life.

"Not so Isaac Thomas Hecker. Whether consciously or unconsciously, I do not know, and it matters not, he looked on America as the fairest conquest for Divine truth, and he girded himself with arms shaped and tempered to the American pattern. I think it may be said that the American current, so plain for the last quarter of a century in the flow of Catholic affairs, is largely, at least, to be traced back to Father Hecker and his early coworkers. It used to be said of them in reproach that they were the 'Yankee' Catholic Church; the reproach was their praise.

"We shall always distinguish Isaac Thomas Hecker as the ornament, the flower of our American priesthood—the type that we wish to see reproduced among us in widest proportions. Ameliorations may be sought for in details, and the more of them the better for religion; but the great lines of Father Hecker's personality we should guard with jealous love in the formation of the future priestly characters of America."

As Elliott's interpretation of Hecker became disseminated in Europe, Cardinal Gibbons expressed his deep satisfaction in the following letter to the author:

"Baltimore, April 14, 1898.

"My dear Father Elliott:

"It gives me great satisfaction to declare my opinion of Father Hecker and to have it made known. Father Hecker was undoubtedly an instrument of Providence

for the diffusion of the Catholic faith in our country. He did a great deal of good in bringing non-Catholics nearer to us, in lessening prejudice and in gaining the ear of the public for our religion, without counting the multitude of those who owe their conversion directly or indirectly to him.

"His mind was that of a child in submission to the Holy Church. It was a Catholic mind in the fullest meaning of the word. His life was adorned by every fruit of personal piety. He was animated by truly apostolic zeal for the salvation of souls—a zeal which was always bold but at the same time prudent, so as to attract Protestants without the smallest sacrifice of orthodoxy.

"Divine Providence gave him the help of a community of men inspired by as lofty motives as his own. The Paulists are continuing the work to which he devoted his life, the conversion of souls to the Catholic faith, and, by the grace of God, they have had marvelous success. The special services they have held in their church in New York City have given proof of this success by the very large number of sinners who have been brought to repentance and of Protestants who have been converted, instructed and baptized. They have, moreover, conducted services and meetings for non-Catholics all over the United States.

"These congregations are frequently composed exclusively of Protestants. They have, further, greatly extended Father Hecker's organization for the distribution of Catholic literature. The Paulists have shown themselves equal to great apostolic enterprises. They have always displayed unreserved respect and obedience to the ecclesiastical authorities.

"I learn with pleasure that Father Hecker's career is becoming more and more appreciated in Europe since his life and writings have been made known there.

"Wishing you the holy joys of the Easter season, I am

"Yours most faithfully,
"J. CARDINAL GIBBONS."

Had the telling of the story of Hecker's life been left to his own coworkers, who understood him, or at least to his own fellow-countrymen, there would have been no trouble; but in 1897 an anonymous translation into French of Elliott's book was made, which was compressed and not exact, and therefore, in the minds of many, did not convey with accuracy the spirit of the English version. The preface of the translation was written by Abbé Klein, a professor in the Catholic Institute of Paris, whose mind, so far from harboring thought of criticism, was expressed in ardent admiration for Hecker. Mutterings of objection began to be heard from the conservative party among French Catholics and they gathered momentum. In the same year, Monsignor D. J. O'Connell, in an address before a Catholic scientific congress at Fribourg, outlined what were beginning to be known as American ideas in the Church, and expressed his earnest approval of them.

The debate was intensified when L' Abbé Maignen, of the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul, wrote a commentary upon Elliott's book, and a vigorous reply to some of Hecker's ideas as Maignen interpreted them. Maignen entitled his own book *Le Père Hecker; est-il un Saint?* and afterward issued an English version of it with some changes entitled *Father Hecker; Is He a Saint?* Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, to whom jurisdiction in this case properly belonged, refused his imprima-

tur for the work. Abbé Maignen then applied to Father Lepidi, a Dominican monk, master of the sacred palace in Rome, who gave the imprimatur of the Vatican, and thus brought the subject directly to attention in Rome.

Like a fire which gathers fury from unknown and powerful sources, spreading with a rapidity which dismays those who would arrest its progress, the discussion was soon agitating Europe to an extraordinary degree. Among Americans it attracted little attention at first, for they saw no cause for it, and believed that it would soon decline. But it aroused their apprehensions as one argument after another based upon a false view of what Hecker taught, based indeed upon a misapprehension of his entire work, rolled forth in speech and pamphlet abroad. Starting from an incorrect premise, one controversialist would build a chain of reasoning, carrying the inaccuracy further. Some one else would take up the complication where he left it off, and aggravate it by a new display of logic, finally entangling the whole subject in hopeless confusion.

American Catholics did not hesitate to admit that, if the foreign interpreters of Hecker correctly stated the subject, there would be room for doubt as to whether it was desirable to accept his views; but they urged with vehemence that it was a false Hecker who was being debated, and not the real missionary whose saintly life and consecrated labors had reaped a harvest of souls such as few men had reaped.

Only the Pope could speak with final authority. Leo set himself to the task and on January 22, 1899, addressed to Cardinal Gibbons a long letter which had the

effect of closing the discussion.[2] He began by saying that the publication of the life of Father Hecker "especially as interpreted and translated into a foreign language" had excited controversy because of the opinions which it had voiced concerning the ways of leading a Christian life. Some of these opinions, as expressed in the foreign translations and interpretations, he condemned; but he expressly assented to the primary proposal of Hecker when he declared that the "rule of life laid down for Catholics is not of such a nature that it cannot accommodate itself to the exigencies of various times and places." He also declared that the Church had never neglected to accommodate herself to the character and genius of the nations. This, in the view of Americans, embraced all of real importance that Hecker had maintained.

There seems to have been no doubt that the Pontiff saw in the aspect which Heckerism took before the eyes of Europe a real danger to Catholic truth, whose correction he deemed necessary. His letter, therefore, was a warning against current evils, rather than against the teachings of Hecker. The following passages give the essentials of the Papal decision:

"The underlying principles of these new opinions is that, in order more easily to attract those who differ from her, the Church should shape her teachings more in accord with the spirit of the age and relax some of her ancient severity and make some concessions to new opinions. Many think that these concessions should be made not only in regard to ways of living, but even in regard to doctrines which belong to the deposit of the faith. They

[2] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

contend that it would be opportune, in order to gain those who differ from us, to omit certain points of her teaching which are of lesser importance, and so to tone down the meaning which the Church has always attached to them. It does not need many words, beloved son, to prove the falsity of these ideas if the nature and origin of the doctrines which the Church proposes are recalled to mind. . . .

"Let it be far from any one's mind to suppress for any reason any doctrine that has been handed down. Such a policy would tend rather to separate Catholics from the Church than to bring in those who differ. There is nothing closer to our heart than to have those who are separated from the fold of Christ return to her, but in no other way than the way pointed out by Christ.

"The rule of life laid down for Catholics is not of such a nature that it can not accommodate itself to the exigencies of various times and places. The Church has, guided by her Divine Master, a kind and merciful spirit, for which reason from the very beginning she has been what St. Paul said of himself: 'I became all things to all men that I might save all.'

"History proves clearly that the Apostolic See, to which has been entrusted the mission not only of teaching, but of governing the whole Church, has continued 'in one and the same doctrine, one and the same sense, and one and the same judgment.'

"But in regard to ways of living, she has been accustomed so to moderate her discipline that, the Divine principle of morals being kept intact, she has never neglected to accommodate herself to the character and genius of the nations which she embraces.

"Who can doubt that she will act in the same spirit again if the salvation of souls requires it? In this matter the Church must be the judge, not private men, who are often deceived by the appearance of right. In this,

all who wish to escape the blame of our predecessor, Pius VI, must concur. He condemned as injurious to the Church and the Spirit of God who guides her, the doctrine contained in proposition lxxviii of the Synod of Pistoia, 'that the discipline made and approved by the Church should be submitted to examination,' as if the Church could frame a code of laws useless or heavier than human liberty can bear.

"It is alleged that now, the Vatican decree concerning the infallible teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff having been proclaimed, nothing further on that score can give any solicitude, and accordingly, since that has been safeguarded and put beyond question, a wider and freer field both for thought and action lies open to each one. But such reasoning is evidently faulty, since if we are to come to any conclusion from the infallible teaching authority of the Church, it should rather be that no one should wish to depart from it, and, moreover, that the minds of all being leavened and directed thereby, greater security from private error would be enjoyed by all. And further, those who avail themselves of such a way of reasoning seem to depart seriously from the overruling wisdom of the Most High—which wisdom, since it was pleased to set forth by most solemn decision the authority and supreme teaching rights of this Apostolic See—willed that decision precisely in order to safeguard the minds of the Church's children from the dangers of these present times.

"These dangers, viz., the confounding of license with liberty, the passion for discussing and pouring contempt upon any possible subject, the assumed right to hold whatever opinions one pleases upon any subject and to set them forth in print to the world, have so wrapped minds in darkness that there is now a greater need of the Church's teaching office than ever before, lest people become unmindful both of conscience and of duty.

"We, indeed, have no thought of rejecting everything that modern industry and study have produced; so far from it, we welcome to the patrimony of truth and to an everwidening scope of public well-being whatsoever helps toward the progress of learning and virtue. Yet all this, to be of any solid benefit, nay, to have a real existence and growth, can only be on the condition of recognizing the wisdom and authority of the Church. . . .

"Nor can we leave out of consideration the truth that those who are striving after perfection, since by that fact they walk in no beaten or well-known path, are the most liable to stray, and hence have greater need than others of a teacher and guide. Such guidance has ever obtained in the Church; it has been the universal teaching of those who throughout the ages have been eminent for wisdom and sanctity—and hence to reject it would be to commit one's self to a belief at once rash and dangerous. . . .

"This overesteem of natural virtue finds a method of expression in assuming to divide all virtues into active and passive, and it is alleged that whereas passive virtues found better place in past times, our age is to be characterized by the active. That such a division and distinction can not be maintained is patent—for there is not, nor can there be, merely passive virtue. 'Virtue,' says St. Thomas Aquinas, 'designates the perfection of some faculty, but the end of such faculty is an act, and an act of virtue is naught else than the good use of free will,' acting, that is to say, under the grace of God if the act be one of supernatural virtue. . . .

"From the foregoing it is manifest, beloved son, that we are not able to give approval to those views which, in their collective sense, are called by some 'Americanism.' But if by this name are to be understood certain endowments of mind which belong to the American people, just as other characteristics belong to various other nations; and if, moreover, by it is designated your political condi-

tions and the laws and customs by which you are governed, there is no reason to take exception to the name. But if this is to be so understood that the doctrines which have been adverted to above are not only indicated, but exalted, there can be no manner of doubt that our venerable brethren, the Bishops of America, would be the first to repudiate and condemn them as being most injurious to themselves and to their country. For it would give rise to the suspicion that there are among you some who conceive, and would have, the Church in America to be different from what it is in the rest of the world.

"But the true Church is one, as by unity of doctrine, so by unity of government, and she is Catholic also. Since God has placed the center and foundation of unity in the chair of Blessed Peter, she is rightly called the Roman Church, for 'where Peter is, there is the Church.' Wherefore, if anybody wishes to be considered a real Catholic, he ought to be able to say from his heart the self-same words which Jerome addressed to Pope Damasus: 'I, acknowledging no other leader than Christ, am bound in fellowship with your Holiness; that is, with the Chair of Peter. I know that the Church was built upon him as its rock, and that whosoever gathereth not with you scattereth.' "

As the letter was sifted and its real meaning was seen clearly, it came to be accepted that while Leo had directed his admonitions at real evils they were not such as were characteristic of America; that they were merely abnormal views born and nurtured abroad, and that in correcting them the Pope had performed a necessary service. This was the view of Cardinal Gibbons, as shown by the following entry in his journal:

"March 17 [1899]. I sent the Holy Father a reply to his letter received February 17th on the subject of

Americanism. After thanking his Holiness for dispelling the cloud of misunderstanding, I assured him that the false conceptions of Americanism emanating from Europe have no existence among the prelates, priests and Catholic laity of our country."

While Gibbons was shocked that this "cloud of misunderstanding" had arisen, he found cause for especial satisfaction in its early disappearance. Americanism in its real meaning stood as it did before. The expression of Leo was accepted as an enlightened view of modern conditions, based upon thorough obedience to the doctrine and discipline of the Church.

Archbishop Ireland, champion of Father Hecker, wrote to the Pope emphasizing the fact that he had never, for a single instant, opened his soul to such extravagances as had been massed abroad under the hallowed name of the Paulist leader. A wrong had been done to the whole episcopate of the United States, he held, by the discussion, under the term "Americanism," of such errors as the Pontiff had condemned. He wrote:

"Today light has come; misunderstandings cease. Today we are in a condition to define the fault which some have wished to cover with the name of Americanism, and define the truth, which alone Americans call Americanism. . . . Seeing the astonishing confusion of ideas and the virulent controversies stirred up, especially in France, about the book, *The Life of Father Hecker*, the extent of which can be measured by the Apostolic letter, I can no longer be blind to the fact that it was a necessity for the chief pastor to raise his voice to enlighten and pacify men's minds."

The Paulist Fathers sent a letter to Rome fully embracing the doctrines of Leo, from which they have never thought of departing. They had felt as a deep wound inflicted upon themselves the extravagances which had marked the polemics in Europe that centered around Hecker's name.

The Church in America wavered not as a result of encountering this storm. Her mission was not to be hampered by violent extremes of opinion. Guided and inspired by the far-sighted Cardinal who led her hosts in their onward march, her numbers multiplied with increasing rapidity; new dioceses sprang up; churches, chapels and schools were built on a scale of increase which but a decade or two before would have seemed impossible anywhere in the world. Her vitality was the vitality of the people; thus she proved the word of Gibbons.

CHAPTER XXXII

COLUMBIAN FETES—PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

By the time of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which marked the four hundredth year since the discovery of America, Gibbons had come to be regarded more than any other American in non-political life as a necessary participant in national undertakings of a patriotic and humanitarian character, as well as in a multitude of lesser ones. He was besieged with invitations and responded to so many of them by extending his cooperation, that it seemed as if he were seriously overtaxing himself by these versatile labors. Letters from him were read on many platforms by the supporters of movements of civic advance, material utility and public benevolence; and he bestowed them upon all alike, regardless of creed, when causes in their broader aspects appealed to him.

In nearly all of these cases the use of his name was regarded by Catholics, Protestants, Jews, whomsoever it might be in the mass of elements in the country's population, as the most conspicuous and powerful in its help to their purposes, save only that of the President. Every word on such subjects that he wrote—and in the aggregate these words would fill volumes—was printed by newspapers, much of it transmitted over the crowded wires of the press associations, for the only reason opera-

tive in producing such a result—the public desired it. There was, indeed, a Gibbons vogue, a form of popular predilection for hearing, reading and heeding his views, for which the newspapers did not try to account, but merely accepted it as a fact of which they ought to be aware.

His words not only had more weight in the country at large than any other man's, except the President's, but in not a few cases more than any other man's without exception, because they were not associated at any time with political expediency or party divisions. The mass of Americans had formed the deliberate conclusion, of which there were abundant evidences, that he spoke sanely, calmly, unselfishly, frankly, courageously. They accepted his utterances, no matter on what subject, as embodying these characteristics, and welcomed them for their refreshing contrast to what they were accustomed to hear from evanescent leaders in political life.

Wherever the words were heard in the voice of him whose mind shaped them—for Gibbons was ready to appear in public when time and circumstances permitted, as well as to have his endorsements or other comments read in his absence—the effect was heightened. His personal magnetism was undoubtedly one of the foremost factors in his popularity. In any gathering he seemed to be the chief, and the crowd, as by a psychic impulse, turned to him from the moment of his entrance. The slender, appealing figure, the benevolent but keen and alert face, the active and springy step, the ever-present dignity combined with social grace, ease and simple directness of manner, won men's hearts. His appearance

fitted perfectly with the character of his thoughts and the character of the man. He was instantaneously responsive to any situation, quick to accept an idea, to turn a phrase, to fall in with the spirit of an occasion, to drive home an argument, to disarm opposition by the force of his personality as much as by the force of his thoughts and words. He had the power of convincing others without antagonizing them. The spirit of the man shone out through him as if he had been transparent.

He was now in the prime of his powers, which in his case were almost uniformly at the maximum between the ages of fifty and sixty-five years. Though still appearing to be physically frail and hampered constantly by his old trouble of poor digestion, which starved his body of a part of the sustenance that its intense activity required, he had learned to disregard his physical condition in the pursuit of the great objects which engrossed him. He seemed not to stop and think whether he was strong enough to undertake a new labor or not. Even when feeling sick or depressed, he would take physical risks which in the case of an ordinary person would have meant the imminent danger of collapse.

Those who knew him best knew that he was unafraid of collapse; that he was willing to be wounded, grievously wounded, even mortally stricken at his post of duty, but that nothing could induce him to turn back. Members of his household and solicitous persons among the cloud of his friends in civil life begged him not to work so hard. He listened with a smile, completely heedless of their advice.

His immense power of quick recuperation seldom failed

him. Sometimes when his vital forces were obviously at a low ebb after a heavy strain, and his pallor seemed almost unearthly, he would retire, usually after dinner, for a brief period of rest and seclusion, and emerge with the red blood surging over his countenance and beating through his veins with fiery energy. To most persons who observed him at close range, he was a physical enigma who excited their constant wonder, but his physician knew that he was organically as sound as an athlete, and that the appearances of frailty and fatigue were chiefly due to the chronic but not irreparable drawback of sluggish functioning by the stomach.

Above all he was sustained by a bubbling zest and interest that animated him like a draught of a powerful tonic. He was keen for work, keen for social diversion, keen for physical exercise and for everything that came up in the course of his varied life. His intense concentration, one of the most useful powers which he possessed, was in evidence in everything to which he turned his thought or his hand. He preached from his pulpit in the Baltimore Cathedral, attended to his exceptionally voluminous correspondence, waged campaigns within and without the Church for causes which he had at heart, romped in his study with altar boys after vespers, and told stories to friends who dropped in to chat with him, all with a vigor, naturalness and interest that seemed unfailing. His mind responded to every call; only his body was refractory, and he would not permit it to impede him.

It was inevitable that he should be an important figure in the events of the World's Fair year, marked as it

was by one of those periodical outbursts of national feeling which American ebullience seems to demand. We have already seen that he was the medium through which the Washington government obtained the loan of the treasured Columbian relics of the Vatican for the Fair, and how this led to the appointment of Archbishop Satolli as their custodian and also as Papal Delegate to the Church in America. For the ceremonies that marked the dedication of the Fair at Chicago, which were conceived on a scale that involved participation by a group of the leading men of the nation, he was invited to offer prayer. He performed the same office at the celebration of Maryland Day there. At a Congress of Catholic Laymen held in connection with the Fair, he made an address and conveyed the Papal benediction. In the Parliament of Religions, which was one of the most important of the many conventions that were held at Chicago in that year, he was one of the leading participants.

The Catholic world was naturally moved by the commemorative display, for Columbus had professed religious motives as his inspiration for the voyage that opened the western continent to communication with the older civilizations. It could not be forgotten that Isabella the Catholic had been the patron of the discoverer, and that her heart opened to his appeals when he had almost despaired from the rebuffs which he had received at the hands of other sovereigns. In the sympathetic atmosphere of the convent of La Rabida he had matured his great project.

There was no doubt that while economic causes had given birth to the general movement which led to the dis-

covery of hitherto unknown lands in that wonderful age of exploration, zeal for the propagation of the Christian religion played a great part in the immediate inspiration of those who accomplished the largest results; nor could it be forgotten that had Columbus sailed westward as he desired, instead of yielding to the advice of Pinzon and following the flight of birds, he would have touched the mainland of Florida on his first voyage, and all of North America might have been Catholic, instead of predominantly Protestant.[1]

Leo XIII spoke for the Catholic world in a letter upon Columbus which he issued on July 16, 1892, to the Archbishops and Bishops of Spain, Italy and the two Americas, in which he took this view:

"It is indubitable that the Catholic faith was the strongest motive for the inception and prosecution of the design; so that for this reason also the whole human race owes not a little to the Church. . . . We say not that he was unmoved by perfectly honorable aspirations after knowledge, and deserving well of human society; nor did he despise glory, which is a most engrossing idea to great souls, nor did he altogether scorn a hope of advantages to himself; but to him, far before all these human considerations, was the consideration of his ancient faith, which without question dowered him with strength of mind and will and often strengthened him and consoled him in the midst of the greatest difficulties. This view and aim is known to have possessed his mind above all; namely 'to open the way to the gospel over new lands and seas.' "

The Pontiff proceeded to declare that Columbus discovered America at a time when a great storm was about

[1] Justin Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, p. 206.

to break over the Church "and that it seemed he was designed by a special plan of God to compensate her for the injury which she was destined to suffer in Europe." He ordered that on October 12, 1892, or the following Sunday, the Mass of the Holy Trinity should be celebrated in all the Cathedrals throughout Spain, Italy and the two Americas.

Gibbons followed this with a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of the archdiocese of Baltimore, in which he exhorted gratitude for the spiritual and material benefits that had followed the voyages of Columbus. America, he said, was the congenial home of liberty, "and the truest democracy allied with stable government." He held that peace and happiness, as far, perhaps, as they are attainable on earth, resulted from these favored conditions, saying:

"Climate, soil, vegetation and mineral products, found in almost endless variety and profusion, conspire to make our country the most desirable in the world. Nor can we forget to note, with a love for our religion as strong and as true as that for our country, the magnificent expansion God has given to the Church, and how sturdily and fruitfully this flower of Christian faith has grown untrammeled under the benign influences of our republican institutions." [2]

Gibbons had called a meeting in Baltimore a month before that time to arrange a local celebration. Under his guidance the plans rapidly took shape. On October 12, the Italians of the city unveiled a monument to Columbus, at which the Cardinal made an address. He

[2] Cathedral Archives, Baltimore.

emphasized that Americans were above all indebted to two men, Columbus and Washington, and accepted the Pope's view in declaring that the great mariner had been inspired by the lofty ambition of carrying the light of the Gospel to unknown lands.

On the following Sunday, splendid services were held in the Cathedral, at which the Cardinal pontificated. Archbishops Satolli and Ireland lent their presence to the occasion. Catholic laity and pupils of the parochial schools to the number of 30,000 took part in a procession through the streets on the 21st, when the celebration was general throughout the United States, in accordance with a proclamation of the President designating as a national holiday that day—the real anniversary, in accordance with the correction of the Julian calendar by Gregory XIII.

Gibbons' prayer at the dedication of the Fair on the 21st was, as usual with him on such occasions, inspired by lofty patriotism as well as deep piety. The following are extracts from it:

"Not only for this earthly inheritance do we thank Thee, but still more for the precious boon of constitutional freedom which we possess; for even this favored land of ours would be to us a dry and barren waste, if it were not moistened by the dew of liberty. We humbly implore Thee to continue to bless our country and her cherished institutions; and we solemnly promise today, in this vast assembly and in the name of our fellow-citizens, to exert all our energies in preserving this legacy unimpaired and in transmitting it as a priceless heirloom to succeeding generations. . . .

"Grant, O Lord, that this pacific reunion of the

world's representatives may be instrumental in binding together in closer ties of friendship and brotherly love all the empires and commonwealths of the globe. May it help to break down the wall of dissension and jealousy that divides race from race, nation from nation, and people from people, by proclaiming the sublime lesson of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Christ. . . . Arise, O God, in Thy might and hasten the day when the reign of the Prince of Peace will be firmly established on the earth, when the spirit of the Gospel will so far sway the minds and hearts of rulers that the crash of war will be silenced forever by the cheerful hum of industry, when standing armies will surrender to permanent courts of arbitration, when contests will be carried on in the cabinet instead of on the battlefield, and decided by the pen instead of the sword."

There was much discussion concerning the question of opening the Fair on Sundays, and on this subject Gibbons took a pronounced stand. In a letter in November, 1892, he wrote:

"The Sunday closing of this spectacle would be very unfortunate for thousands of our countrymen, who would be tempted to spend the day in dissipation. In their name, I would favor the opening of the Fair Sunday afternoon to evening, with the provision that all the machinery should be stopped and all mechanical and laboring work that will not be urgent and necessary, cease."

The course which he advocated and of which Catholics were generally in favor was adopted. Gibbons took the view that Sunday was not only a time for rest and religious observance, but also for innocent recreation. He held that Catholics, having performed the religious duties required of them in the morning, were free to

spend the day in such relaxation as was becoming to Sunday; in particular, he was desirous that the Fair should be opened during a part of that day in order that the workingmen of Chicago and its vicinity might have a good opportunity to see it. He was, of course, wholly lacking in sympathy with the spirit of the old Puritan Sabbath, and he regarded the observance of the day in America, outside of a few large cities, as being eminently satisfactory at that time.

A new indication of his tolerance of view was found in the attitude which he took regarding participation by Catholics in the Parliament of Religions. When that project was considered at a meeting of the Archbishops in New York in the autumn of 1892, some objections were made; but the Cardinal took a pronounced stand in favor of participation and in the end the prelates decided to accept the invitation.

He could see no merit in the suggestion that the part which Catholics would take in the convention would involve any recognition or approval of the numerous sects within and without the circle of Christianity that were to be represented there. Recalling that St. Paul had preached before the Areopagus, he said that he hoped to reach in the Parliament of Religions a peculiar audience, with which it would be difficult to get in touch again. The Church, he declared, was too often presented to the world in apparel that made her repulsive to the people. His aim was to discard these garments and, as he remarked, "let all see the Church in her true beauty—a beauty sure to endear her to all lovers of the truth; the more the Church is known, the better she is liked."

The Anglicans, under the inspiration of Archbishop Benson, declined to take part in the parliament. How far Gibbons differed from their view was indicated further by his letter accepting the personal invitation to the gathering which was sent to him. He wrote:

"I deem the movement you are engaged in promoting worthy of all encouragement and praise. . . . I rejoice to learn that the project for a religious congress has already won the sympathies and enlisted the active co-operation of those in the front rank of human thought and progress, even in other lands than ours. If conducted with moderation and good-will, such a congress may result, by the blessing of Divine Providence, in benefits more far-reaching than the most sanguine could dare to hope for."

The name of Gibbons was among the first on the list of speakers, closely followed by that of Ameer Ali, a Mussulman of Calcutta. Archbishop Feehan, of Chicago, was on a committee of which a Presbyterian minister was chairman. In the speeches welcoming the parliament to the city, Feehan spoke in behalf of the Catholic Church.

Gibbons suffered a serious attack of illness as the time for the convention was at hand, but he would not give up his intention to join in the sessions. In a preliminary address to the gathering, he said:

"If I were to consult the interest of my health, I should be in bed; but as I was anxious to say a word in response to the kind speeches that have been offered, I can not fail to present myself, at least, to show my interest in the great undertaking. I would be wanting in my

duty as a minister of the Catholic Church if I did not say it is our desire to present the claims of the Church to the observation, and, if possible, to the acceptance of every right-minded man who will listen to us; but we appeal only to the tribunal of conscience and of intellect.

"I feel that in possessing the faith, I possess treasures compared with which all the treasures of this world are but dross; instead of keeping these treasures in my coffers, I would like to share them with others, especially, as I am none the poorer in making others richer. But, though we do not agree in matters of faith, there is one platform on which we all stand united; it is the platform of charity, of humanity, of benevolence. . . . We know that the Good Samaritan rendered assistance to his strange brother, who was of a different name, a different religion, a strange nationality, and with a wide difference in social life. That is the model we all should follow. . . . Let no man say, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' That was the language of Cain. I say to you here today, no matter what may be your faith, that you are and ought to be your brother's keeper."

His illness having become more severe, he was unable to deliver the main address which he had prepared for the parliament, and it was read by Bishop Keane. The subject was "The Needs of Humanity Supplied by the Catholic Church." At the outset he made a general defense of Christianity, addressed to Mohammedans, Brahmins, and other sects assembled from the corners of the earth. If he were not drawn to the Church, he said, by her unity of faith, which bound together in a common worship 250,000,000 souls, by her sublime moral code, by her world-wide Catholicity, and "by that unbroken chain of succession which connects her indissolubly with

Apostolic times" still more forcibly would he be drawn by her wonderful system of organized benevolence for the elevation and comfort of suffering humanity.

Gibbons proceeded to state some points in that system. He showed that the Church had purified society at its fountain head, the marriage bond, that she had proclaimed the sanctity of human life as soon as the body is animated by the vital spark; that she had established asylums for invalids, orphans, the aged, the sick; that she labored not only to assuage the physical distempers of humanity, but also to reclaim the victims of moral disease; that she had been the unvarying friend and advocate of the slave, and that she had ennobled manual labor.

He made it plain that he did not hold that activity in these fields was restricted to Catholics, saying:

"I will not deny, on the contrary, I am happy to avow, that the various Christian bodies outside the Catholic Church have been and are today zealous promoters of most of these works of Christian benevolence which I have enumerated. . . . But will not our separated brethren have the candor to acknowledge that we had first possession of the field; that these beneficent movements have been inaugurated by us; and that the other Christian communities in their noble efforts for the moral and social regeneration of mankind have been stimulated in no small measure by the example and emulation of the ancient Church?"

He concluded with an expression of the doctrine that there is no way by which men approach nearer to God than by contributing to the welfare of their fellow-men.

Gibbons did not at any time waver in the hope that

good results would flow from the Parliament of Religions. His journal contains this entry:

"Oct. 26 [1893]. Sent Cardinal Rampolla a long statement regarding the work of the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, and the hopes entertained of its results."

The Columbian Catholic Congress at Chicago was a continuation of the gathering of laymen instituted in Baltimore at the time of the centennial of the Hierarchy. The Cardinal made the address with which the Congress was opened, advising moderation in the discussions, and presenting a letter from the Pope bestowing the Apostolic blessing upon the laity there assembled.

As the foremost citizen of Maryland, he was naturally invited to take a prominent part in the observance of Maryland Day at the Fair, where each of the American States held a celebration of its own. He offered the opening prayer and pronounced the benediction, giving thanks for the blessing of religious liberty which had been brought to St. Mary's by Catholics and which had since spread over all the United States.

The relics of Columbus were returned to Rome on the United States Cruiser *Detroit*, after the close of the Fair. Leo, in receiving them, expressed satisfaction that he had been able to contribute to the success of the great American celebration. He also announced that he was preparing an encyclical to the American Bishops, conveying his sentiments of especial affection for their country. This letter, issued January 6, 1895,[3] pointed out what the mis-

[3] *Encyclical Longinque Oceani.*

sionaries of the Church had done in opening the American continent to civilization, and added:

"Precisely at the epoch when the American colonies, having with Catholic aid achieved liberty and independence, coalesced into a constitutional republic, the ecclesiastical Hierarchy was happily established amongst you; and at the very time when the popular suffrage placed the great Washington at the helm of the Republic, the first Bishop was set by Apostolic authority over the American Church. The well-known friendship and intimate intercourse which subsisted between these two men seems to be an evidence that the United States ought to be conjoined in concord and amity with the Catholic Church."

Leo expressed his great satisfaction with the spirit of the Church in America in the last part of the century then about to close. He dwelt upon the "happy beginning" which had been made in establishing the Catholic University at Washington under the chancellorship of Gibbons, and upon the development of the Church which had flowed from the foundations laid by the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. There was no desire, he declared, to restrict the American Bishops through the establishment of the Apostolic Delegation in Washington. He wrote:

"But how unjust and cruel would be the suspicion, should it anywhere exist, that the powers conferred upon the Legate are an obstacle to the authority of the Bishops! Sacred to us (more than to any other) are the rights of those 'whom the Holy Ghost has placed as Bishops to rule the Church of God.' That these rights should remain intact in every nation in every part of the globe, we both

desire and ought to desire, the more so since the dignity of the individual Bishop is by nature so interwoven with the dignity of the Pontiff that any measure which benefits the one necessarily protects the other."

He foresaw a further period of growth for the Church, saying:

"All intelligent men are agreed, and we ourselves have intimated it with pleasure, that America seems destined for greater things. Now, it is our wish that the Catholic Church should not only share in but help to bring about this prospective greatness. We deem it right and proper that she should, by availing herself of the opportunities daily presented to her, keep equal step with the republic in the march of improvement, at the same time striving to the utmost by her virtue and her institutions to aid in the rapid growth of the States."

The Pope expressed his zeal for winning Protestants in America to the Catholic faith, urging that Catholics "with mildness and charity draw them to us, using every means of persuasion to induce them to examine closely every part of the Catholic doctrine and to free themselves from preconceived notions." He urged that the Catholic laity by exhibiting conspicuously in their lives the Christian virtues could aid powerfully in this.

A sequel to the Parliament of Religions was a renewed and active discussion of the subject of Christian unity. Men of different creeds bestowed their earnest attention upon it. Impetus was given to the movement for reuniting those branches of American Protestantism which had been separated by differences of opinion growing out of the slavery question in the Civil War. In particular, ef-

forts were made to restore the organic bonds which had formerly held together the numerous branches of Methodism and of Presbyterianism in America.

A Methodist pastor at Taunton, Massachusetts, addressed several letters on this subject to Gibbons, to which he replied.[4] The Cardinal agreed that aspirations for the reunion of Christendom were worthy of all praise, but proceeded to show that such reunion would be only fragmentary if the Catholic Church were excluded. Without a solid scriptural basis, no reunion would be possible, and he held that this was to be found only in the recognition of the successor of Peter as the visible head of the Church. Where, he asked, could the head for which some of the churches of the world were looking be found with the standard of authority that would suffice except the Bishop of Rome? Terms of union were easier of solution than was commonly supposed. In his view the Catholic Church held to all the positive doctrines of the Protestant churches, and the acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy would make the way clear for accepting her other doctrines. Gibbons pointed out, as he often did in such communications, that many doctrines were ascribed to the Church which she repudiated and that Protestants were nearer to her than some of them imagined.

Sermons on Christian reunion were delivered from many pulpits in America as the movement gathered force and Gibbons preached on the subject at the Baltimore Cathedral, November 4, 1894. He said that gladly would he give his life to bring about that consummation, for which he recognized there was a yearning desire, par-

[4] Letter of Cardinal Gibbons to the Rev. Geo. W. King, July 28, 1894.

ticularly in the English speaking world; but he saw no hope for a reunion except within the fold of the Catholic Church, adding:

"On faith and morals there can be no compromise; what Christ has left us must remain unchangeable. We can not improve on the work of Christ; but the Church can modify her discipline to suit the circumstances of the times. I would affectionately say to all who desire to share in the inestimable blessings of this reunion, that you surrender nothing worth possessing—not your liberty or independence, or moral freedom. The only restraint placed upon you is the restraint of the Gospel. In coming back to the Church, you are not entering a strange place, but are returning to your Father's house. The furniture may seem odd to you, but it is just the same as your fathers left three hundred and fifty years ago."

Leo summoned Gibbons to Rome in the autumn of 1894 for his first visit to that city since 1887, when he had received the red hat. He sailed in the following Spring, reaching Rome May 31. It was a triumphant return, for he bore the abundant sheaves of a harvest of seven years in which the toil had been great, the outlook often dismaying, and storms had been endured which had threatened to blight all. Never for a moment during those years had Leo doubted the sure touch of the master reaper in America; but the extent of the yield had been beyond the most sanguine expectations of both himself and Gibbons. Leo's policy had been vindicated in the world at large and Gibbons' policy had been vindicated in America. The appeal to the hearts of men was bearing fruit, though the appeal to rulers and govern-

ments, enforced by conditions then passing, had often been barren.

The Pope plainly showed his joy in the greeting that he gave to the American Cardinal. It was as if he were welcoming his other self. Though Gibbons spent more than a month in Rome and, believing his mission at length ended, went to pay a parting visit to Leo, the Pontiff commanded him to defer his departure, so that they might continue their consultations.

Gibbons warmly praised the work of Satolli, whose faithful friend and defender he had been from the time when the Delegate arrived on the experimental mission. This gave great comfort to Leo, for Gibbons, the foremost opponent of the appointment of an Apostolic Delegate in the United States, had been the foremost upholder of the Delegate when appointed. There had been a blending of views on the subject. Leo had arranged Satolli's mission so that Gibbons' main objections had been met. Gibbons recognized this with that full generosity which he so often showed and which could not fail to be in evidence in his relations with the Pontiff whom he loved and revered with all his powerful natural impulse of personal attachment, as well as with the affection which was due to the head of the Church.

Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Propaganda, reflected the attitude of the Pope in the attentions which he showered upon Gibbons. It was Ledochowski through whose hands had passed the official papers of Gibbons, in which the astute Papal bureau chief had been able to trace the surprising development of the Catholic religion and its influence in America. He had seen in these re-

ports one step after another recorded in which complications had been smoothed out, discords healed, finances put on a stable basis, dioceses originated or developed. The clergy had increased greatly in numbers and even more in individual standards. Misunderstandings in the public mind had been prevented, or had been removed after they arose.

Above all, Gibbons in his reports to the Vatican had interpreted the progress of events in America as no man had interpreted them for Rome before, concealing nothing, seeing clearly and fully, describing legislation and public men with accuracy and keen perception, analyzing movements, tendencies and events that affected the progress of religion. Rome was seeing America through Gibbons' eyes, the eyes of one who was ready to applaud or condemn no less in relation to movements within the Church than within the State and always with a deep devotion to the interests of both.

America was now understood at Rome; all doubt on that subject had been removed. Cardinals from European countries who had looked askance at some conditions in the United States, as other Europeans of light and leading did in their day, were able to perceive clearly what had been obscure to them. The word of Gibbons was powerful at the seat of the Church.

Leo, like Gibbons, was deeply interested in the Catholic University at Washington. They discussed intimate details of the progress which had been made so far in that work, which heartened both of them as an augury of greater things to come. Gibbons presented to the Pontiff a program for the philosophical department which it was

hoped soon to inaugurate at the university. He also asked for a Pontifical brief in behalf of a Eucharistic Congress similar to those previously held in Europe, which it was proposed to convoke in America. On June 29 the Pontiff addressed a brief to him, bestowing hearty approval upon the plans for the university and entering with zeal into the project for the Eucharistic Congress.

He found Leo, who was then eighty-five years old, emaciated, the pallor almost of death upon him intensified by his white cassock and zucchetto. His body was bent but his eye was bright and penetrating, his voice strong, his intellect amazingly clear. One thing which particularly astonished Gibbons was Leo's continued power of physical endurance, which enabled him to hold audiences for several consecutive hours with Cardinals and foreign representatives, as well as with private individuals, changing with ease and elasticity of mind from one subject to another. His memory was extraordinarily keen, and he was able to recall even small details of questions which had arisen in the United States, especially the archdiocese of Baltimore, regarding which he was at all times particularly solicitous.

While Gibbons was in Rome he consented without hesitation to act as intermediary for some American Protestant ministers in a communication to the Vatican. These ministers had associated themselves with a movement begun by Methodists in Chicago in 1894 to obtain a modification of laws regarding public worship and marriage in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. They decided to appeal directly to the Pope to secure for Protestants in

those countries "the same liberty of conscience that is enjoyed by Roman Catholic citizens in this country."

A letter was sent to Gibbons in Rome asking for his cooperation, and he promptly took up the matter with Cardinal Rampolla, the Secretary of State. In a reply to the chairman of the Chicago Methodist committee [5] he incorporated a communication to himself from Rampolla, setting forth that the complaint had reference to a state of things "solely dependent upon the civil laws in force in the republics of Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia," adding:

"Nevertheless, as your Eminence has been pleased to communicate to me the said letter, I have written to the Apostolic Delegate in the above-named republics to obtain precise information concerning the laws which affect the condition of the Protestants there, as regards both the exercise of their religion and the celebration of marriage."

The Secretary of State gave the assurance that he would "call the attention of the Holy See to the information which the aforesaid Delegate would send."

When these inquiries had been completed, Rampolla wrote to Gibbons, setting forth their result as follows:

"The Protestants in Peru, far from being restricted in the free exercise of their worship, are rather accorded a larger degree of toleration than is compatible with a strict construction of the political constitution of that country. This is evidenced by the fact that in Peru, especially in the cities of Lima and Callao, there are sev-

[5] Letter of Cardinal Gibbons to the Rev. John Lee, of Chicago, June 14, 1895.

eral Anglican and Methodist chapels where weekly meetings are held. As to the solemnization of marriages, the Delegate informs me that, while the constitution of Peru recognizes no other form than that prescribed by the Council of Trent, Protestants do, as a matter of fact, wed with religious ceremony in the presence of their ministers, and civilly before the consuls and ambassadors of their respective countries. The same condition of things relative to marriage exists in Bolivia and Ecuador, where the exercise of religious worship is regulated by special constitutional enactments, with which the Holy See cannot interfere." [6]

Gibbons returned to Baltimore in August, where one of the city's public welcomes awaited him. There was, as usual, a great crowd at the railroad station which escorted him to his residence. A reception was given in his honor by the Catholic Club, at which stress was laid upon the continuance of his efforts to break down the impression that the Church was in any way alien to American institutions. Edgar H. Gans, a distinguished lawyer of the city, delivered the address of welcome, saying:

"Not many years ago the view was prevalent that the Catholic Church was of foreign growth, was not adapted to modern American life, and indeed that its teachings were hostile to our free institutions. This prejudice became powerful and widespread. It would not yield to the ordinary weapons of logic and reason. There was needed a living illustration of its absurdity. That illustration was found in your Eminence. In you the American people see the highest spiritual authority absolutely consistent with the civic allegiance of the patriotic citizen."

[6] Letter of November 30, 1895.

With that deep simplicity which always possessed him, and which was in special evidence upon occasions when he was powerfully moved, Gibbons spoke in an informal, neighborly way of his delight in returning to his home city.

"Would that I could deserve one half the praise showered upon me," he exclaimed. "I often ask the good Lord what I have done that I should receive so much praise." [7]

As was usual after his European trips, he preached soon afterward at the Cathedral upon his impressions. He spoke of the sadness with which he had observed the civil authorities of France, and some other Catholic nations of Europe, drifting away from religious ties. There were other contrasts with America upon which he remarked, one of which was in regard to the burdensome taxation of Europe, from which his fellow-countrymen were spared. He found that the agricultural populations there were not flocking to the cities in such an endless stream as in America. While he declared that he would by no means discourage ambition, he regarded discontent with an honorable, though humble, station in life, as a serious fault of many of his fellow-countrymen.

The Eucharistic Congress for which he had received the Pontifical approval was held in Washington in October of the same year. In that month also the new course of philosophy at the Catholic University was instituted with the dedication of McMahon Hall, erected at a cost of $400,000 by the gift of the Rev. James M. McMahon, an aged priest of the diocese of New York. Gibbons made an address at the dedication exhorting the

[7] *Catholic Mirror*, August 31, 1895.

laity, no less than the clergy, to lend their support to the university in the steady development which he considered to be inseparable from its healthful activity as the fountain of Catholic education in the United States.